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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. X.

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LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR TEMPORAL INFLUENCE

INNOCENT II. TO BLESSED BENEDICT XI.

1130-1305

VOL. X.—1159-1198

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To

THE RIGHT REVEREND

MGR. JOSEPH FELTEN, D.D.

PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN

TO WHOSE INSPIRING WORDS THESE BIOGRAPHIES ARE DUE

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

AS A MARK OF

AFFECTIONATE ESTEEM

BY HIS

OLD PUPIL

THE AUTHOR

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Jaffé, or Regesta . .	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Potthast	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874.
Labbe	=	*Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes*	=	*Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz .	=	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	*Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS. . . .	=	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. F. SS.	=	*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, ed. Bouquet and others, Paris, 1738 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A List of Abbreviations,	vii
List of Illustrations,	xi
Alexander III. (1159–1181),	1
Chapter I. Rolando Bandinelli, and his election as Pope. Alexander III., and the schism till his arrival in France (1159–1162),	8
,, II. Alexander's sojourn in France. The council of Montpellier; the conference of Saint-Jean de Losne; the council of Tours; the death of Victor IV., and the proclamation of another antipope. Alexander returns to Rome (1162–1165),	56
,, III. Alexander in Rome. Barbarossa in Italy. Flight of Alexander. Defeat of Frederick at Legnano, and the Peace of Venice. Return of Alexander to Rome (1166–1178),	80
,, IV. The last years of Alexander. The final close of the schism. The eleventh ecumenical council. The death of Alexander,	136
,, V. England, Ireland, and Scotland. Other nations and facts,	151
Lucius III. (1181–1185),	239
Urban III. (1185–1187),	284
Gregory VIII. (1187),	312
(The papal chancellary),	316
Clement III. (1187–1191),	341
Celestine III. (1191–1198),	383
Appendix,	442
Index,	443

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Frederick I., Barbarossa, ... *Frontispiece*
2. Two of the Paparoni, ... *to face p.* 8
3. The investing of a Pope with the Papal Mantle, „ „ 18
4. Ninfa—present state, ... „ „ 22
5. Ninfa, the Chapel of St. Cesarius, . . . „ „ 48
6. The Marriage of the Adriatic, ... „ „ 66
7. Alexander III. entering Rome, ... „ „ 86
8. Alexander III., Frederick, and the Doge of Venice, ... „ „ 126
9. St. Thomas Becket, ... „ „ 154
10. Throne of William II., ... „ „ 254
11. The Tomb of Lucius III., ... „ „ 270
12. The Tomb of Urban III., ... „ „ 310
13. Earliest extant Leaden Bullæ of the Popes, . „ „ 324
14. The Mausoleum of Augustus, ... „ „ 344
15. The Palace of Clement III., ... „ „ 352
16. The Remains of Clement's Palace in the days of Sixtus V., ... „ „ 362
17. Existing Remains of Clement's Palace, . . „ „ 372
18. The Theatre of Marcellus, ... „ „ 384
19. Celestine III. crowning Henry VI., . . . „ „ 392
20. The Liberation of Queen Constance, . . „ „ 400
21. Bronze Gate of the Lateran Baptistery, . . „ „ 426

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Party per pale argent, a snake wavy in pale gules; gules a goose argent with beak and feet or.

ALEXANDER III.

A.D. 1159–1181.

Sources.—The most important source for the *Life* of Alexander III. is his biography by his favourite cardinal, the Englishman Boso, whose historical writings we have already discussed. This *Life*, which is the last of the collection which forms the *Liber Pontificalis*, is unfortunately somewhat incomplete. Boso's last illness and death prevented him from carrying it beyond April 9, 1178. It may be read ap. Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 397 ff.; Watterich, ii. p. 377 ff.; *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i. p. 448 ff. It was wrongly assigned by Muratori to the cardinal of Aragon, the Dominican Nicholas Roselli (†1362), who published an edition of the *L. P.*

The bulls, etc., of Alexander are naturally extremely valuable. Though, like those of nearly all his predecessors, his register has almost wholly perished,[1] fortune has been kind to the correspondence of Alexander, and vol. 200 of the *Pat. Lat.* contains more than 1500 of his letters, and over 100 of others addressed to him. But a glance at the *Regesta* of Jaffé will show that since the Abbé Migne published his collection (1855), Loewenfeld (*Epp. Pont. Rom.*, Leipzig, 1885), Pflugk-Harttung (*Acta Pont. Rom. inedita*, Tübingen, 1881 ff.), Kehr ("Papsturkunden Italiens" in *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: philolhistor.*

[1] It was frequently appealed to by his immediate successors, *e.g.*, by Innocent III., epp. i. 540 and 549; and often by Honorius III. *Cf.* Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, pp. 192, 351, etc.

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Klasse, 1912), and other scholars have brought to light a great many more of the documents which issued from the chancellary of Alexander III. In January 1904 (ap. *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*) Martin-Chabot published two *close* letters of this Pope,[1] of which the originals are preserved at Barcelona, and which are said to be the oldest documents of their kind. *Close* letters were opposed to *patent* letters, which were quite open, were written right across the parchment, and were sealed with the public seal hanging at the bottom of them; whereas the *close* letters were folded and sealed with a private seal, were usually of less general interest than the letters patent,[2] and had an address written on the back of the parchment. When the edges were folded one over the other, they were pierced with two holes to receive the attachments of the seal or *bulla*. "Papal letters were closed when the Pope wished that those to whom they were sent should be the first to read them, or when they were used as envelopes to contain other documents."[3]

In 1910, under the title *La chiesa di Roma e la chiesa di Milano nella elezione di P. Alessandro III.*, Abbot Amelli published some important documents which he had discovered and which shed light on Alexander's election. Many of Alexander's letters bear the motto: "Vias tuas Domine demonstra mihi," and are for the most part dated according to the Florentine era, *i.e.*, they begin the year on March 25. A very large proportion of Alexander's letters are addressed to persons in France, the country which for a period gave him shelter, and which so warmly espoused his

[1] The first is addressed to Alfonso II., king of Aragon, and is dated from Tours, December 7, 1162. It asks the king to send his prelates to the forthcoming council of Tours.

[2] The *Gesta Henrici*, i. p. 26, R. S., speaks of letters which the Irish bishops sent to the Pope Alexander as "in modum cartæ extra sigillum pendentes." They were no doubt letters patent. *Cf.* a letter of St. Thomas's agents to their master, in which they say that his friends would not even believe the king's letters proclaiming peace "quas extra sigillum pendentes ostendimus." Ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, vii. p. 390, R. S. Innocent III., *Reg. Epp.*, vi. 165, speaks of "ex *patentibus* litteris quas . . . dirigimus," and of (v. 162) "litteræ apertæ cum sigillis pendentibus" (*cf.* xi. 182), and also of close letters (*ib.*, 166) "in litteris nostris *clausis* quas . . . tibi mittimus." Extant close letters of Innocent are exceedingly rare.

[3] Delisle, *Mémoire sur les actes d'Innocent III.*, p. 21.

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cause. In France his chief correspondent was Henry, archbishop of Rheims, the brother of King Louis VII.

In addition to the chronicles and annals which are available for the biography of Alexander and which have already been noticed, mention must be made, for the ever-memorable peace of Venice, (*a*) of the *Historia Ducum Veneticorum*, a valuable contemporary narrative extending from 1120 to 1177. It is found incorporated in that curious medley of documents known as the *Chronicon Altinate*, and may be read ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv., ed. Simonsfeld, or from a less accurate MS. in Rossi's ed. of *La Cronaca Veneta detta Altinate*, Florence, 1845, p. 152 ff.; (*b*) of the *Relatio de Pace Veneta*, seemingly by a German partisan of the Pope, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix., or better ap. Balzani, Estratto dal *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Ital.*, n. 10, Rome, 1890; (*c*) of Romuald Guarna, archbishop of Salerno, whose chronicle, often cited before, deserves special mention here, as its author was present at Venice during the negotiations and meetings between Frederick and the Pope (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii.). These sources furnish a narrative of very different value to the legendary accounts of the peace put into circulation by Bonincontro de' Bovi, chancellor of the republic of Bologna (who wrote about 1317), and by the Venetian Froissart, Martino da Canale, who between 1253 and 1268 compiled a history of Venice in French, because "lengue françeise cort parmi le monde."[1] From these late writers and from certain wholly worthless sources, as, for instance, from an imaginary historian, Obo of Ravenna, various mythical stories came to be told of a mysterious flight of Alexander to Venice, where for a time he remained unknown, serving in some menial capacity; of a war between Venice and the Empire; of a sea-fight at Salvore, where Barbarossa's son was taken prisoner;[2] of the Pope's placing

[1] P. 268, ed. Galvani. These prose writers were followed by various poets, *e.g.*, by Pietro de' Natali (†1406?), whose poem on the peace has been published by O. Zenatti in the *Bull. dell' Instit. Ital.*, n. 26 (1905), p. 105 ff.

[2] There would appear to be some evidence that a sea-fight did take place at Salvore. Zeno, bishop of Pavia (who under Paul II. wrote the lives of the Popes from St. Peter to Clement V., which are still unpublished), in his full life of Alexander III. (ad an. 1177), says that an inscription then existed in Istria, near the town of Spiranus (Pirano),

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his foot on the emperor's neck, and of privileges granted by Alexander to Venice. Among the lesser authorities for the biography of Alexander attention may be called to the poem of Etienne de Rouen, known as *Draco Normannicus*. Etienne was a monk of Bec Herluin, who died about 1170, and wrote his poem about 1168-9. He was a partisan of the antipope Victor, and opposed to Archbishop Becket. Though most of his work is derived from other sources, he gives us some new facts referring to the years 1153–69. Omont's ed. of the poem (Rouen, 1884) has neither introduction nor note; hence it is better to use Howlett's ed. in his *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, etc.*, R. S.

Available now not merely for English history but for European history in general and for that of Italy and Rome in particular, is the unmatched series of the English chroniclers, William of Newburgh, the author of the *Gesta Henrici*, Roger of Hoveden, Roger of Wendover, and their followers. As notices of others have been given elsewhere, we will here give a few brief notes concerning Roger of Hoveden, who brought to an end the northern school of English historians, so well represented by the Venerable Bede, Simeon of Durham, and the monks of Hexham.

commemorating a victory of the Venetians over Otho the son of Barbarossa which was ascribed to the prayers of Pope Alexander. It ran thus:

"Heus populi celebrate locum, quem tertius olim
Pastor Alexander donis cælestibus auxit.
Hoc etenim pelago venetæ victoria classi
Desuper illuxit, ceciditque superbia magni
Induperatoris Frederici. Reddita sanctæ
Ecclesiæ tunc pax fuit, cum tempora mille
Septuaginta dabat centum septemque supernus
Pacifer adveniens ab origine carnis amictæ."

Ap. Mai, *Nova Pat. Bib.*, viii., Append. 2.

Naturally, Venetian authors were desirous of making their country's share in the peace as great as possible, and they tried to defend the myths alluded to in the text. *Cf.*, for instance: *Allegatione per la vittoria navale contra Federico I., e atto di P. Alessandro III.*, by C. Frangipane, Venice, 1616. But their pretensions were soon refuted, *e.g.*, by F. Contelorius, *Concordiæ inter Alexandrum . . . et Fridericum narratio*, Paris, 1632.

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Connected with Howden in Yorkshire, Roger was in the service of Henry II. in 1174. He became an itinerant justice for forests in 1189, wrote *Chronica* from 732 to 1201, and seems to have died about 1202. From 1192 Hoveden is an independent authority of the first importance, though from 1148 to 1170 he attempted "original arrangement and composition." "From Christmas 1169 to the spring of 1192" his work "corresponds with the chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*Gesta Henrici*)."[1]

Hoveden's sketch of St. Thomas Becket is possibly "the earliest attempt at a dated history of the great contest"[2] between Henry II. and the archbishop.

The materials for the history of St. Thomas are very great, and have been collected, very badly, by Dr. Giles in eight vols. (Oxford, 1845–6), and in good style by Robertson and others in eight (?) vols., R. S. In the first four volumes of the latter collection are printed the contemporary *Lives* of the saint by William of Canterbury, John of Salisbury, Edward Grim, William Fitz-Stephen, Herbert of Bosham, and two anonymous writers, and also contemporary accounts of the saint's miracles. The next three contain a large collection of letters from Pope Alexander, King Henry, the saint himself, John of Salisbury, Gilbert Foliot, etc. The eighth volume, which has not yet been published, is to contain the French biographies, of which the most important, viz., that by Garnier of Pont St. Maxence,[3] has already been published, *e.g.*, by Hippeau (Paris, 1859). Magnusson published the Icelandic Saga (*Thomas Saga Erkibyskups*, 2 vols., 1875–84) which an anonymous Icelander, who has preserved extracts from works on St. Thomas, now lost, compiled in the fourteenth century.

[1] Stubbs, in his preface to his ed. of Roger, i. p. li, R. S. Both appear to be drawn from a common source.

[2] *Ib.*, p. xlv.

[3] On Garnier see the study of E. Étienne (*La Vie St. Thomas par Garnier*), Paris, 1883. Mr. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 1st series, p. 79 ff., London, 1871, has something to say about Garnier as well as about other ancient and modern biographers of the great archbishop; but the question of the value, etc., of the ancient biographers has been well discussed by Dom A. L'Huillier (*Saint Thomas*, i. p. 411 ff., Paris, 1891), and better by Halphen, *Les biographes de Thos. Becket*, ap. *Revue Hist.*, Sept.–Oct. 1909, p. 35 ff.

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Modern Works.—No standard biography of Alexander has been written since the labours of recent authors have rendered so much fresh material for the purpose readily accessible; but it is generally agreed that the best biography of him hitherto composed is that by H. Reuter, **Geschichte Alexanders III. und der Kirche seiner Zeit.*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1845; Leipzig, 1864. A short *Life* of Alexander was written in Italian by G. Loredano, which first saw the light in Venice in 1637. Though it contained the myths above rehearsed, it was thought worthy of republication in Rome, 1847. There is a modern French work on Alexander (*Alexandre III. ou Rapports de ce Pape avec la France*, by F. de Laforge, 2nd ed., Sens, 1905). But, apart from the fact that it treats especially of Alexander's relations with France, it is "scrappy," very unsatisfactory in its references, without an index, and inaccurately printed.[1]

In connection with special episodes of Alexander's pontificate, we may quote Dom L. Tosti, *Storia della Lega Lombarda*, Monte Cassino, 1848, and Balan's work bearing the same title, Modena, 1876.[2] Of the numerous works on St. Thomas Becket mention will simply be made of a few different types: *Becket* (London, 1859), by J. C. Robertson, the editor of the *Materials* for the Rolls Series;[3] *Becket, St. Thomas, of Canterbury*, by J. Morris, S.J., 2nd ed., London, 1885;[4] *Thomas Becket, Martyr, Patriot*, by R. A. Thompson, London, 1889; and one of the latest and most valuable, *St. Thomas de Cantorbéry*, by Dom A. L'Huillier, 2 vols., Paris, 1891.

[1] I have not been able to procure a copy of E. A. Brigidi, *Orlando Bandinelli, pp. Alessandro III.*, Siena, 1877.

[2] Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, and Testa, *The War of Frederick I. against the Communes of Lombardy*, have been already cited.

[3] Of this writer, Freeman, *l.c.*, p. 88, says very pertinently: "He is utterly incapable of entering into the position of a king or an archbishop of the twelfth century. Above all, Thomas of Canterbury, whether saint or not, was emphatically a hero, and a hero is just the sort of person Canon Robertson cannot possibly understand."

[4] It was first published in 1859, and inspired the work of L'Huillier, as that by Dr. Giles (1846) inspired *St. Thomas Becket*, 2 vols., Paris, 1858, by the martyred archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Darboy.

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CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Emperor of the Romans.	King of England.	Eastern Emperors.	Kings of France.
Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152–1190.	Henry II., 1154–1189.	Manuel I., Comnenus, 1143–1180.	Louis VII., the Young, 1137–1180.
		Alexius II., Comnenus, 1180–1183.	Philip II., Augustus, 1180–1223.

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CHAPTER I.

ROLANDO BANDINELLI, AND HIS ELECTION AS POPE. ALEXANDER III., AND THE SCHISM TILL HIS ARRIVAL IN FRANCE (1159–1162).

Rolando Bandinelli.

THE papal mantle which Hadrian had found so thorny, and the papal mitre which had been to him as a furnace of fire, were assumed by Roland (the son of Rainucci of Siena),[1] whom more recent writers call Rolando Bandinelli, and attach to the family of the Paparoni.[2] These insignia he was destined to wear with dignity and honour, if not with ease and comfort, for a longer time than the great majority of the successors of St. Peter. He was to be Pope for twenty-two years.[3]

As is usual with the Popes of this period, very little is known of Roland's early life, and of that little the chronological order does not appear to be certain.

Roland a professor at Bologna.

For a time, at any rate, he seems to have been a professor of canon law at Bologna, whilst Gratian in his monastery of St. Felix in the same city was compiling his immortal *Decretum*. As we learn from a contemporary, Richard of Cluny,[4] Rolando made a great reputation for himself

[1] Boso.

[2] *E.g.*, Ciaconius: "Alexander . . . familia nobili Bendinella, quæ postea Paparona dicta est." *Vitæ RR. PP.*, i. 566, ed. Rome, 1630. Novaes, *in vit. Alex.*, says the same; and Frassoni, *Essai d'armorial des Papes*, p. 16, Rome, 1906, says that the Bandinelli of Siena are only a branch of the Roman family of the Paparoni.

[3] Hadrian I. was Pope for twenty-three years, Pius VII. for twenty-three, Pius IX. for thirty-one, and Leo XIII. for twenty-five.

[4] Also known as Richard of Poitiers. His chronicle extends from 800 to 1162 in the ed. of Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, iv. pp. 1079–1114,

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Part of a Fresco Pavement in S. Maria Maggiore, original
From Biasiotti, *La Basil*

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y given by the two Paparoni whose figures are shown above.
ca Esquilina di S. Maria.

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as a canonist,—a reputation which was increased by his *Summa* and by his *Sentences*,[1] a book which was discovered comparatively recently by Father Denifle in the public library of Nuremberg.

As Pope he became a great protector of learning and of free teaching.

The position which Rolando held at Bologna would naturally lead one to expect that when he became Pope he would not forget professors and scholars. His pontifical acts prove that he did not, and show him one of the world's greatest practical benefactors in the cause of learning. On October 20, about the year 1171, he issued an important bull to the bishops of France.[2] To explain its purport we will adopt the words of the historian of the *Universities of Europe*:[3] "With the rapid spread of education in the twelfth century there grew up round the more famous churches an increasing number of masters anxious to obtain permission to teach scholars who could afford to pay something for their education. Hence it became usual for the *scholasticus* or chancellor to grant a formal permission to other masters to open schools for their own profit in the neighbourhood of the church." These officials then began to exact fees for the *licentia docendi*. It was this practice which Alexander condemned. In a letter addressed to the bishops of France, he bade them forbid "the masters of the schools" in their respective dioceses daring to demand payment from such as wished a licence to teach, but to order them to allow all properly qualified persons who wished to do so to open

ed. Milan, 1741, and to 1172, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. Richard says of Roland: "In utroque jure peritissimus," p. 85, ed. *M. G. SS.*

[1] The *Summa Magistri Rolandi* has been edited by Thaner, Innsbruck, 1874, and the *Sententiæ Rolandi Bononiensis* by Father A. Gietl, Freiburg, 1891. *Cf.* Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, i. 133, Oxford, 1895; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. Alexander III.; and Saltet, *Les réordinations*, p. 298.

[2] Ep. 837, "Pro scholis regendis."

[3] Rashdall, *l.c.*, i. 282 f.

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schools without let or hindrance, lest learning which ought to be imparted gratis should seem to be offered for sale.[1] On the other hand, in order to ensure efficiency, he would not allow anyone to teach without obtaining the licence of the *scholasticus*.[2]

Besides this, Alexander threw his mantle over both the teachers and the taught. In the case of a disturbance at Rheims in which some students were injured and damage was done to the doors and windows of the schools, the Pope forbade "the liberty" of the students to be interfered with, as long as they were ready to submit to the jurisdiction of their masters.[3] He interested himself equally in the teachers, endeavouring for instance to obtain ecclesiastical revenues for them,[4] in order, as he says in one place, "*that by the pity of the Church* the poor may rejoice that learning is within their grasp."[5]

Anxious, however, as he was that education should be wholly free,[6] still, when ordering his legates to examine

[1] Ep. 807. "Mandamus . . . curetis ne qui dignitate illa (viz., that of "master of the schools"), si dignitas dici potest, fungentes, pro præstanda licentia docendi alios ab aliquo quidquam amodo exigere audeant . . . sed eis . . . præcipiatis, ut quicunque viri idonei et litterati voluerint studia regere litterarum, eos sine molestia et exactione qualibet scholas regere patiantur, ne scientia de cætero pretio videatur exponi, quæ singulis debet gratis impendi." *Cf.* epp. 338–9, ed. Loewenfeld, and 960, *P. L.* See also Alexander's decree (n. 18) in the Lateran council of 1179.

[2] Ep. 338–9, ed. Loewenfeld.

[3] He forbids any "ne præfatos scholares contra libertatem eorum in aliquo molestare audeant vel gravare, quamdiu coram magistro suo parati sint justitiæ stare." Ep. 815. *Cf.* the regulation of the legate, Cardinal Robert, regarding the University of Paris, August 1215: "Quilibet magister forum sui scolaris habeat." Ap. Denifle, *Chartularium Universit. Paris*, i. p. 79, Paris, 1889. In the same work will be found the letters of Alexander which we are here quoting.

[4] Ep. 335, Loen. [5] Jaffé, 13504 (8758).

[6] "Licet mandaverimus ut hi qui volunt docere nihil pro scholis regendis ab aliquo exigant juxta illud: Veni et audi," etc. Ep. 1147.

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into the condition of the already famous schools at Paris, he specially forbade them to bear too hardly in this matter either *nominatim* on Master Peter, the chancellor of Paris, or on the masters in general.[1]

The immense value to the cause of education of the interest of Alexander in the schools of France at this period cannot be overestimated. As we learn from himself, the Church of France was then specially distinguished for the number of its learned men.[2] As a consequence, the steps of all the students of the West were turned towards that favoured country. Alexander's concern for their welfare and for that of their instructors at once gave them a standing. In an age of violence it rendered the calling of the scholar and the position of the professor honourable in the eyes of all. Alexander was Europe's first minister of education, and, in accordance with the best traditions of the Papacy, there was nothing mean about his educational policy. Free licence was to be given to all competent men to teach, and their instruction was, as far as ever possible, to be given gratuitously; but, at the same time, to ensure that the teachers were competent, no schools were to be opened without the permission of the recognised authorities. Many a modern minister of education might with advantage study the decrees of Alexander III. for the advancement of learning.[3]

Suppression of idle theological discussions, 1164.

But though a friend of learning, Alexander was no friend of licence, even in the domain of thought. Understanding

[1] *Ib.*, October 29, 1174. Peter *Comestor*. *Cf.* the old *Life* of Pierre de Comestor by Courtalon-Delaistre, Paris, 1782.

[2] "Quanto Gallicana ecclesia majorum personarum scientia et honestate præfulget," etc. Ep. 807.

[3] Interested in learning, he was of course interested in books. Hence he confirmed a statute of the chapter of Corbey applying a tax on its members to the renewal of old books and to the purchase of new ones.

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that there were many loose opinions concerning the faith (*sententiæ de fide*) among the French professors, he summoned them before him (*scholastici et quique litterati*) to the number, it is said, of over three thousand. Then, in conjunction with the cardinals, he forbade them to waste their time in vain speculations and useless questions in the matter of theology (*omnes tropos et indisciplinatas questiones in theologia*). He ordered the bishops to suppress such idle theological discussions all over France; but, resting on one hundred and fifty authorities which were brought to his notice, he approved the proposition (*sententia*) which proclaimed the glory of the human nature which had been assumed by God ("de gloria hominis in Deum assumpti et in Deum nati").[1]

We have also seen that in his early manhood Alexander was distinguished for his skill in law. His papal legislation was to prove that his hand did not lose its cunning with age. As an ecclesiastical legislator he has been said to be "scarcely second to Innocent III."[2] His decrees, along with those of Innocent, were the chief sources of the Decretals of Gregory IX.

Roland attracts the attention of Eugenius III.

Besides being a professor at Bologna, Roland was a canon of Pisa. When Pope Eugenius III. was at that city in the autumn of 1148, he heard much of this learned and popular

[1] *Ann. Reichersperg.*, 1164, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. Discussion on the question of the relation of the human to the Divine nature in the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity would appear to have spread to the East. The patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem are said to have met in Constantinople, *c.* 1167, in presence of the Emperor Manuel, and to have sent to the Pope certain decrees (*capitula*) against those who say: "hominem assumptum a Verbo, in gloria Dei Patris seu Verbi assumentis esse non posse." *Chron. Magni*, an. 1171, ap. *ib.*, p. 496.

[2] See a list of his decretals, ap. *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 1319 ff. They will be found to consist very largely of answers to difficulties presented for his solution by various English bishops.

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cleric, and lost no time in bringing him to Rome. In quick succession he made him cardinal-deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian, cardinal-priest of St. Mark, and chancellor of the Apostolic See.

His character.

The man who thus quickly mounted the ladder of fame was, according to Boso, from whom we have these facts, of no small ability. Besides being a teacher of ready and polished speech, he was well read both in sacred and profane literature, and was endowed with the priestly virtues of prudence, chastity, sobriety, and generosity to the poor,[1] about whom he ever showed himself solicitous. In addition to these qualities, he possessed, as we have already seen manifested at the court of Barbarossa, the virtue of fortitude in a marked degree. But if on the occasion referred to he allowed his zeal to outrun his discretion, when he became Pope the difficulties of his position compelled him so to regulate his ardent nature by prudence that, in the affair of St. Thomas Becket, he has even been accused of pusillanimity. While, however, the same undaunted soul animated Bandinelli whether as cardinal or as Pope, the cruel conditions under which most of his pontificate was passed forced him in later life to possess his soul in the strictest patience.

The election of Chancellor Roland as Alexander III.

Of Roland's career as cardinal of St. Mark sufficient has been said in the foregoing pages; close attention must now be given to the circumstances of his election as Pope.

Whilst Hadrian IV. lay ill at Anagni, the great majority of the cardinals around him were full of anxiety about the future. They knew that there was one among them who was prepared to go all lengths to obtain the Papacy,[2] who with the greed of a miser had been hoarding up money

[1] Boso, who adds: "ideoque fecit eum Dominus crescere in plebem suam et dedit ei sacerdotium magnum."

[2] *Cf. supra*, ix. p. 310.

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wherewith to further his ends,[1] and who had been false to the cause of the Church in order to curry favour with the emperor. They thought of his descent from one of the noblest families of Rome,[2] and they realised what influence that would give him among the Roman nobility. Nor, in fine, had they forgotten that there were two imperial ambassadors in Rome, the Count Palatine Otho and Guido, count of Biandrate,[3] who would do all in their power to forward the wishes of their master in favour of Octavian.[4]

The Anagni compact.

It was only natural that they, full of such thoughts, should have made up their minds only to elect one of their own way of thinking, and in no case to elect the ambitious imperial candidate Octavian. Whether they came to a formal, definitely expressed agreement among themselves on this subject may be doubtful, though the supporters of Octavian declared that "the Sicilian party (*secta*)" took an oath in presence of Hadrian only to select a Pope out of their own number.[5] And these same partisans would like us to believe further that before the cardinals left Anagni they all agreed not to bring the coming election to an end until a candidate should have been chosen unanimously.[6]

[1] In addition to the evidence already adduced against him, *cf.* ep. 48 of Peter of Blois, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 142: "Octavianus ille auctor schismatis toto tempore vitæ suæ congregaverat opes et divitias ut quietem Ecclesiæ perturbaret." *Cf.* p. 143, where he speaks of his unbounded pride.

[2] Rahewin, *Gesta Frid.*, ii. 31 (21).

[3] The *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul), ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1183.

[4] Writing to Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, Alexander says that common report had it that Frederick intended if possible to secure the election of Octavian: "Ita quod a pluribus dicebatur, et quasi fama communis habebatur, quoniam, eo superstite, Octavianum, qui semper fuit domesticus ecclesiæ inimicus ordinare Apostolicum, immo apostaticum, si opportunitatem acciperet, intendebat." Ep. 19, April 1, 1160.

[5] Encyclical of Victor's party, ap. Rahewin, iv. 62 (52). *Cf.* the encyclical of Frederick's council of Pavia, ap. *ib.*, c. 77 (67), and Frederick's own letter to Ebehard of Salzburg, ap. *ib.*, c. 79 (69).

[6] The encyc. of V.'s party (*l.c.*), and the ep. of the canons of St. Peter,

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The great majority of the cardinals were also anxious to have the new Pope elected at Anagni, as they would there be freer from external pressure. But this would not have suited Octavian, whose influence was all in Rome through his family connections and the imperial ambassadors; nor did the plan please the Romans, who had no wish to lose their privileges. Accordingly, on the death of Hadrian (September 4), the senators made it known that they would not suffer his body to be buried until the cardinals had assembled in Rome, and were prepared to proceed to the canonical election of the new Pope, after the funeral.[1]

Burial of Hadrian. The cardinals assemble in St Peter's.

Seeing that there was no help for it, the cardinals went to Rome, but took the precaution of commissioning Cardinal Boso to take possession of the *munitio* of St. Peter, a charge which had already been given him by Pope Hadrian.[2] On September 4 the body of that great pontiff was laid to rest in St. Peter's. On the following day the cardinals assembled behind the high altar of the basilica,[3] its doors were fastened by the senators,[4] and the process of electing the new Pope began at once. It is difficult to say exactly how many cardinals took part in the debate. Alexander says that nearly all the cardinals were present at Hadrian's funeral,[5] so that we may perhaps presume

ap. *ib.*, 76 (66). Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. p. 366, shows how preposterous it is to suppose that the anti-imperial majority would bind themselves to the observance of a condition which would have rendered the election of a Pope a moral impossibility under the circumstances.

[1] "A quibusdam familiaribus d. imperatoris annuntiatum est, quod ab his, qui senatores dicuntur, d. papæ sepultura non conceditur, quoadusque cardinales in urbe conveniant," etc. Ep. of Ebehard of Bamberg to his namesake of Salzburg. Ap. Watterich, ii. 454.

[2] "Cujus (the *munitio*) custodes fidelitatem ei juraverant d. P. Adriano vivente," as is acknowledged by the canons of St. Peter to the council of Pavia. Ap. *ib.*, 474 ff. The *munitio* was the tower by the side of St. Peter's which guarded it.

[3] Ep. of the canons. [4] Boso, p. 398.

[5] "Præsentibus fere omnibus fratribus." Ep. 1.

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that all the cardinals in Rome were present at the election.[1] From the signatures attached to the encyclicals issued by the cardinals of the two parties soon after the election was over, we get the names of twenty-nine cardinals.[2] If to these we add the names of Rolando and Octavian, it appears that at least thirty-one cardinals may possibly have taken part in this memorable election. There would appear, however, to be some doubt whether Imarus, bishop of Tusculum, was present at the final scene of the election. If we are to trust Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, he left the assembly because he would not miss his dinner.[3] At any rate, it seems certain that it was only after the election of Alexander that he went over to the party of Octavian.[4]

[1] The antipope says: "Convenimus *omnes* de electione summi Pontificis tractaturi." Ep. to Frederick, ap. Watterich, ii. 461.

[2] That twenty-nine was about the number of voters may also be gathered from the *Dialogus de pontificatu S. R. E.*, written towards the close of the year 1162. It says that the three who voted for Victor were scarcely a tenth part of those who had the right to vote. "Vix decima portio eorum quorum intererat et qui eligendi haberent auctoritatem." Ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. p. 532. Twenty-two cardinals sign the encyclical of Oct. 1159 in favour of Alexander: *i.e.*, 5 bishops, 8 priests, and 9 deacons; 25 sign the second, of April 1160: viz., 5 bishops, 9 priests, and 11 deacons. In the second letter the extra priest is Hubaldus (or Hubert) of S. Croce, and the two extra deacons are Raymund of S. Maria in via Lata, and Milo of S. Maria in Aquiro. Of these last two, Raymund's name appears among the five who signed the encyclical in support of Victor (Oct. 28, 1159). Hence, either his name was used without warrant by the party of Octavian, or else he must soon have abandoned that faction. From John the Deacon, who dedicated his little treatise *De eccles. Lateran* to Alex. III. himself, we know that at this period the possible total number of cardinals was 53, *i.e.*, 7 bishops, 28 priests, and 18 deacons (ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1391). *Cf.* also Richard of Cluny, ap. Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.*, iv. 1112.

[3] "Epicurus alter reputabatur. . . . Quod adeo verum est, ut cæteris laborantibus solus præmature, *sicut dicitur*, ab electione discesserit, quoniam hora prandii videbatur instare." Ep. ad cardinales, ap. Watterich, ii. 465 ff.

[4] *Cf.* the second encyclical of Alexander's cardinals where they say that they had excommunicated him after the others: "qui cum sensisset primo nobiscum, in sectam eorum . . . concessit."

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In our account of the details of the election, the narrative of Gerhoh of Reichersberg will be followed as far as possible. His story is selected not merely because it is more minute than the others, but also because it is more likely to be impartial than any of the others. Details of the election.

After the cardinals had assembled, a secret ballot was taken forthwith, from which, when its results were announced,[1] it appeared that the larger and more influential party had voted for Rolando. "Very few" had voted for Octavian, and a certain number for Bernard, bishop of Porto.[2] Thereupon, with a view to securing a unanimous election, those who had voted for Bernard either went over to Rolando's party or declared that they were prepared to accept whichever of the other two candidates was selected by the rest. By this means the number of those in favour of Octavian or not averse to him was raised to seven or nine.[3]

Finally, on the third day, all the cardinals went over to Rolando except John of SS. Silvester and Martin and Guido of Crema of the title of St. Calixtus.[4] These two

[1] Gerhoh, *De investigatione Antichristi*, i. 53. "Cum . . . singulorum voluntates secreto ab his, quibus id injunctum fuerat, requisite fuissent idque quod inventum et scripto notatum fuerat in medium idem ipsi protulissent, major et potior apparuit numerus cardinalium, qui in cancellarii Rülandi electionem consenserant."

[2] That Bernard was chosen by some is also stated by Bishop Ebehard of Bamberg, who adds that it was *reported* that Hadrian had on his death-bed designated Bernard as his successor. Ep. Ebehard, ap. Watterich, ii. 454.

[3] Gerhoh says seven. Victor's cardinals, by what must be regarded as a quibble, pretended that nine cardinals had elected Octavian. "Nos autem ix numero . . . Octavianum . . . eligimus." Ap. Watterich, ii. 463; *cf.* Ebehard's letter just cited.

[4] This harmonises with the accounts given by Alexander himself (ep. 1, ad Syrum; *cf.* epp. 3 and 2 to the bishop of Bologna, which is practically a repetition of ep. 1) and by his cardinals (ap. Watterich, ii. 465 and 493 ff.), by Boso (*L. P.*), and by the *Liber tristicie* (*l.c.*). With this we find in full agreement the letter of Cardinals Henry,

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"obstinately declared that they would never abandon the candidature of Octavian." Seeing that further discussion with them was but a waste of time, the cardinals as a body, acting perfectly in accordance with canon law, ignored their opposition, and proceeded to carry out the formalities necessary to complete the election.

The imposition of the papal mantle.

In accordance with custom, the archdeacon brought forward the scarlet mantle which was the distinctive papal dress.[1] For a time the cardinal of St. Mark resisted the attempt that was made to place it upon him, pleading his unfitness for the great burden of the Papacy. But when Octavian stepped forward and, in the emperor's name, forbade him to accept the mantle,[2] the cardinals insisted, and Rolando "bent his will and his head to receive it."[3] At the sight of this, losing all self-control, Octavian suddenly seized the mantle, and after a struggle succeeded in possessing himself of it, only to have it torn from him by

William, and Otho to the church of Milan. They set down the whole schismatical party among the cardinals as four in number: Octavian, the antipope himself, Guido, and John, who at first elected him, "qui rem totam premasticatione subdola fabricarant," and Imarus, who soon joined them. Ep. ap. Amelli, p. 10. See also Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 200, etc. Arnulf, in his strongly partisan letter already quoted, says that, like the object of their choice, these two cardinals were not distinguished either by learning or by virtue; that the first was envious of Rolando, and the second, who was a nephew of the imperial envoy, Guido, count of Biandrate, would have nothing to do with Rolando because he was not of noble blood, and he "perituræ privilegio carnis exultans, arbitratus est nihil negandum sanguini."

[1] "Oblato ei (Rolando), ut mos est, per archidiaconum manto, rubea videlicet illa cappa, quæ insigne papale est." Gerhoh, *De investig. Antichristi*, i. c. 53, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. p. 360. *Cf.* ep. Alex. I.; the second encyc. of his cardinals, etc. According to the letter of the canons of St. Peter, the archdeacon (Oddo or Otho of St. George in Velabro) was helped by Adelbald Crassus, otherwise called Hildebrand, of the title of the XII. Apostles, and by John the Neapolitan. *Cf.* the encyc. just cited.

[2] The same encyc.

[3] Gerhoh, *l.c.*

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John XII. being clothed with the Papal Mantle.
From a Fresco in the Oratory of St. Thomas (a robing room built by John XII.) in the Lateran.
(After a drawing by Ciampini, *De sacris aedificiis*, Rome, 1693; Cap. II. "De basilica Lat." tab. IV.)
"Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto." ("Know that I was vested with the great mantle.")
Dante, speaking of Nicholas III., *Inf.*, c. 19.

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a senator.[1] Thus baffled, he called to his chaplain to produce the mantle he had caused to be specially provided for the purpose,[2] and, removing his hat, bent his head in order that it might be put through the aperture in the centre of the great cloak. But in the hurry of the moment it was, to the great amusement of most of the onlookers, put on so that the "hood," which ought to have been on Octavian's back, was on his chest.[3] And, as though he was not looking foolish enough already, unable in his excitement to find the hood, he pulled up or off some of the lower fringes of the mantle and fitted them to his neck as best he could.

Stormy proclamation of the antipope.

Then followed a scene of almost indescribable confusion. While some attempted to strip Octavian of the mantle which he had so impudently assumed, he proclaimed himself as Pope Victor, and, intoning the Te Deum, rushed from behind the altar where the conclave was being held, and showed himself to a number of the clergy who in a remote part of the basilica were anxiously awaiting the result of the election.[4] Seeing him in the papal mantle, they at once acclaimed him Pope, some, no doubt, in good faith. At the same moment the doors of the church were unbarred or burst open, and a crowd of armed men,

[1] With the encyc. *cf.* the letters of Alexander and Boso.

[2] Gerhoh tells of "alium mantum de sua domo allatum." *L.c.*, and the *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul) says (*l.c.*), "fecerat venustissimum mantum quemdam suum clericum ibi portare."

[3] We are here following Alexander's account. Ep. 1. *Cf.* the encyc., Arnulf, and Boso.

[4] "In eminentiorem ascendens locum clerum advocat, qui semotus in parte æcclesiæ . . . finem rei expectabat." Gerhoh, *l.c.*, p. 361. *Cf.* the same encyc. Alexander's cardinals say that they were the partisans of Octavian, "qui ad favorem ipsius in angulis latitabant." Arnulf describes Octavian as making a dash for the papal *cathedra*. "Sic indutus ad cathedram . . . cucurrit, nomen ipse sibi 'Victoris' acclamans, et ad suffragandam sibi et decantandas laudes præparator impudenter exhortans."

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partisans, for the most part at least, of Octavian, burst into St. Peter's. In an instant the peaceful basilica was instinct with the din of war. Its marble walls gleamed with the flashing of sword and spear,[1] and its great rafters rang with their wild clang, and with the still wilder shouts that proclaimed Octavian Pope.

Alexander and his party retire to the *castrum* of St. Peter's.

Thus acclaimed, Victor, after his mantle had been properly adjusted, was enthroned. Then, amid shouts of "Papa Victore san Pietro l' elegge," he was escorted in triumph "with a few priests"[2] to the Vatican palace, where he was gladdened by the accession to his party of Imarus, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.[3] Meanwhile, the terrified adherents of Alexander were only too thankful to be able to retire in safety to the fortress attached to St. Peter's, which was in the hands of Cardinal Boso.[4]

There, relying on the imperial ambassadors (who declared that they would wage a vigorous warfare, *vivam guerram*, against Alexander), and on a number of the senators whose support he had bought, Octavian blockaded them for nine days (September 7–15) by means of his relations,

[1] "Discurrentibus igitur armatis, cœpit per ecclesiam quædam theatralis scena disponi, dum parietes fulgor illustraret armorum," etc. Arnulf must have had this graphic picture put before him by an eye-witness.

[2] The letter of the canons, and Arnulf, who adds that the priests were men stained with the grossest simony.

[3] The supposition that it was at this juncture that Imarus joined Octavian would seem to reconcile all the authorities; viz., those that say that he left the conclave, those that say that Octavian was elected by two cardinals, and Gerhoh, who says that "His (*i.e.*, to the two cardinals John and Guido) tercius adhesit Tusculanus," and then adds that "hi tres quartum Octavianum papam facere moliti sunt."

[4] "Intra munitiunculam que est supra sanctuarium." Gerhoh, *l.c.* *Cf.* Boso, the ep. of Victor's cardinals, that of Alexander (ep. 1), and that of the canons of St. Peter, ap. Watt., ii. 476. "Romani S. Petri ecclesiam incastellassent," says Sicard, *Chron.*, an. 1167, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi.

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of certain senators whom he had bribed,[1] and of some of the lower orders of the people (*plebeculæ*).

Alexander is conveyed "across the Tiber," and then set free.

Meanwhile, he summoned the bishops of the Patrimony of St. Peter[2] to come to his consecration. With the exception of the bishop of Ferentino, who had been his schoolfellow, and to whom he had made liberal promises, the other bishops, telling him that they must obey God rather than man, held aloof from him.[3] Nor was his cause prospering within the city. The mass of the people were beginning to move in favour of his rival. Whenever he appeared he was greeted with cries of "Accursed one! (Maledicte! in allusion to his family name), son of the accursed one, thief of your comrade's cloak! (*dismanta-conpagnum*), you shall never be Pope. We will have Alexander, whom God has chosen." A "certain Britto" had even the courage to upbraid him to his face in a number of rhyming couplets for dividing Christ's seamless garment, and to remind him of approaching death:

> "Quid facis insane | patrie mors, Octaviane!
> Cur presumpsisti | tunicam dividere Christi?
> Jamjam pulvis eris; | modo vivis, cras morieris."[4]

It is true that on September 15 "the tower of St. Peter" fell into the hands of his party, and that the Pope-elect

[1] For two days of this work he had to pay them 200 pounds. *Cf.* the second encyclical of A.'s cardinals. The money acquired by the Senate in this way was ordered by the people to go to the repair of the walls of Rome. They would not have "the price of blood" put into the public coffers. *Cf.* Watt., *ib.*, p. 498; and the epp. of Arnulf and John of Salisbury, ap. Watterich, p. 469 and p. 502. That the senators were engaged about this time in repairing the walls of Rome is proved by a mutilated inscription of the year 1157 relating to the Porta Metrovia. After the date come the words: "S.P.Q.R. menia vetustate dilapsa restauravit senatore Sasso," etc. *Cf.* Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, i. 38 f. It was quite a common practice in the thirteenth century to allocate promiscuous sums of money, such as fines for breach of contract, to the repair of the walls. *Cf. ib.*, p. 33.

[2] "Nostræ provinciæ," says the encyc. just quoted.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Boso.

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had been conveyed to a stronger place across the Tiber.[1] But, finding that the fickle public opinion of Rome was for the time still against him, Victor left the city by night, while the Pope-elect and his cardinals, released from their confinement, principally by the exertions of Odo Frangipane, were conducted with every manifestation of joy through the streets (September 17).[2]

He retires to Nympha.

Rolando, however, knew full well that Rome was not a safe place for him. The imperial ambassadors were still there, and the influence of the family of Octavian was great. He accordingly at once left the city, honourably escorted by a large number of the nobility and militia of Rome, but, if the account of his enemies is to be accepted, dressed all in black and with an entire absence of the customary personal pomp.[3] Moving along the old Appian Road, and passing the Three Taverns (Tres Tabernæ) of St. Paul, he halted at Cisterna Neronis (the modern Cisterna seemingly), where, say the canons of St. Peter's inaccurately enough, Nero hid when trying to escape from the pursuing Romans. Rolando selected this little town as a halting-place because it was subject to his partisans, the Frangipani. But "it was fitting," continue the canons with well-feigned indignation, "that they should stay at Cisterna, because they had abandoned the fountain of living waters, and had digged to themselves cisterns that could hold no water." On the following day (September 18), so the same canons assert, "the chancellor was invested with the

[1] With ep. 1 of Alexander, *cf.* the ep. of the canons, ap. W., p. 476.

[2] The encyc., *l.c.*; ep. 1, Alex.; Boso, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 399.

[3] *Ib.* For the concluding statement we have the acts of the assembly of Pavia (1160), where it is said that: "multi ex nostris dicunt, vidisse cancellarium . . . ab Urbe exisse sine manto, sine stola, sine albo equo . . . cum pellibus nigro pallio coopertis, et cum nigro almutio." Ap. Watterich, ii. p. 480. The *almutius* is here probably to be understood as a hood.

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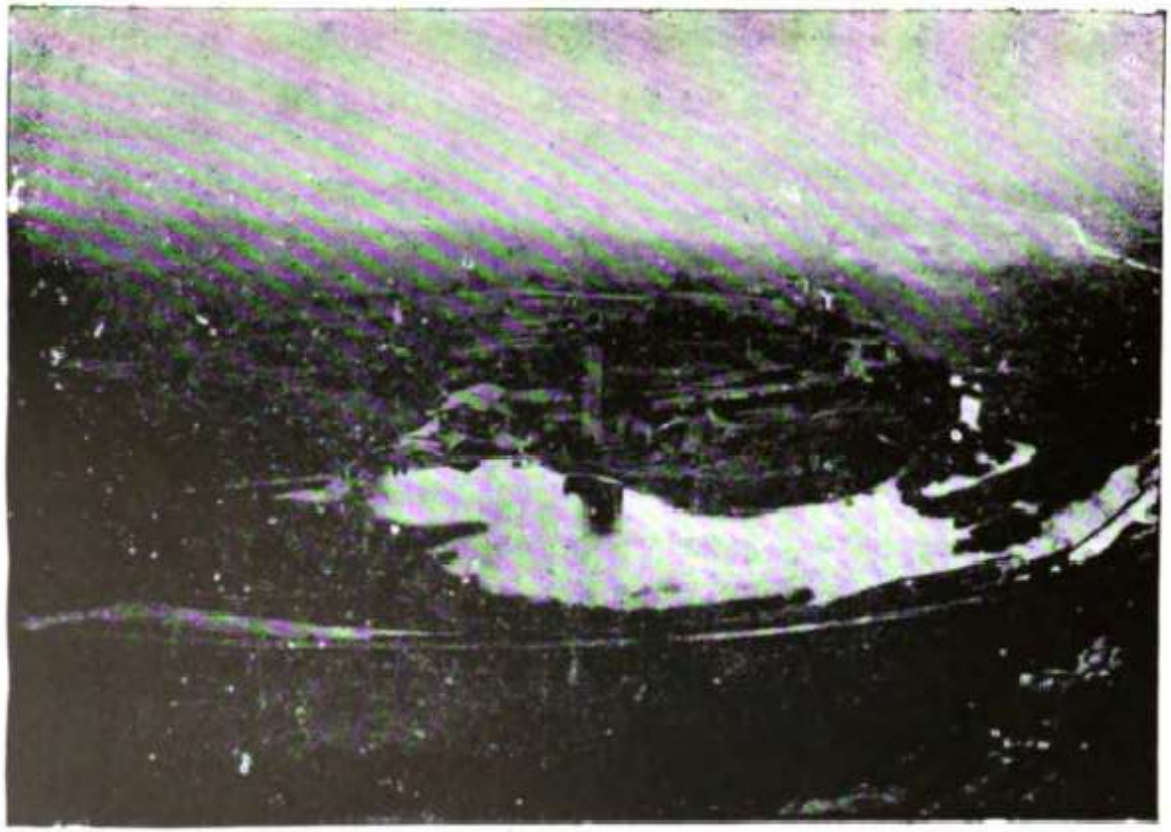

Ninfa in its present abandoned condition.
(From Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*.)

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stole and the pallium of error to the destruction and confusion of the Church, and there was first sung the Te Deum."[1]

Consecration and coronation of Alexander, Sept. 20, 1159.

From Cisterna the Pope-elect made his way a little further south to Nympha (Ninfa), another small town equally under the sway of the Frangipani. And there, where now the malaria holds absolute sway, where the houses never echo to the sound of a human voice, and where streets and churches are overgrown with grass and creepers, the splendid ceremony of the consecration and coronation was held. In presence of the neighbouring bishops and of a number of clergy of the city, Alexander was duly consecrated by the three bishops who had the right to do so, viz., by the bishops of Ostia, Porto, and Albano.[2] The ceremony took place in the Church of St. Mary Major, of which a part is still standing, and in the apse of which may still be seen a fresco of the St. Cesarius in whose oratory on the Palatine the images of the emperors used to be placed.[3]

Excommunication and consecration of Octavian.

Eight days after Alexander had been consecrated by the waters of Nympha, he solemnly excommunicated Octavian and his principal adherents, inasmuch as, despite due notice given, they had not submitted (September 27).[4] Of this excommunication Octavian took no notice; but having at length, with great difficulty, secured the services

[1] Ap. Watterich, p. 476. *Cf.* the ep. of the emperor, *ib.*, p. 481, and the acts of Pavia, *ib.*, p. 480.

[2] The letter of Provost Henry (ap. Watterich, p. 472) actually names the bishops of Ostia and Porto as consecrators. *Cf.* epp. 1, 2, etc., of Alex.; the encyc., ap. W., p. 496, etc., and Boso.

[3] On Cisterna, and especially on Ninfa, see Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*, ii. p. 390 ff., and p. 393 ff., Rome, 1910.

[4] Ep. 2, Alex.; but an addition to it which appears in Watterich (ii. 458 n.), etc., is not given in the *P. L.* *Cf.* the letter of Fastradus, abbot of Clairvaux, to Omnibonus, bishop of Verona, ap. Watterich, *ib.*, p. 512.

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of two bishops[1] who were hostile to Alexander or his cause, he received episcopal consecration from Imarus, bishop of Tusculum, with their assistance (October 4).[2] He then without delay "presumed to excommunicate those who had excommunicated him."[3] The schism which was to last eighteen years was consummated.

The schism the work of Frederick.

Before proceeding with the history of the schism we may pause to note that the disputed election of Alexander was a repetition of that of Innocent II., with this difference: the former was caused directly or indirectly by the emperor. As Boso truly wrote: "Octavian, as after events made plain, would never have inflicted such mischief on the Church unless he had cause to know that he might rely on the support of the Emperor Frederick if he seized the Papacy. There is good reason to believe that he had sworn to him that he would mount the papal throne by one means or another."[4] Frederick knew that but for his early death Hadrian would have excommunicated him,[5] and he

[1] The first was the bishop of Ferentino, of whom mention has already been made, and who had been hostile to Pope Hadrian; and the second was the bishop of Melfi, who had been exiled from Sicily for treason. *Cf.* Boso, and *Chron. Turonensis*, ap. Bouquet, xii. 475, and the letter of Fastradus just cited.

[2] Ep. of Victor, ap. W., p. 461; Boso; Ep. of A.'s cardinals, ap. W., p. 496; and the *Annales Ceccan.*, an. 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

[3] Gerhoh, *l.c.* In leaving Gerhoh for the moment we may note that he says that at first he could not discover "the purity of the ecclesiastical election of Alexander or the perverse presumption of Octavian's party," . . . but that now "the clouds of lies against his canonical election have begun to clear away," and the validity of his election is certain. He concludes this especially from the consent of all the cardinals but three, and "we know that the assembly of the lord cardinals is the Roman Church: Quem . . . dominorum cardinalium cetum nos Romanam ecclesiam intelligimus." Preface to his *De investig. Antichrist.*, p. 308. The poet Gunther too approves of the election of Alexander: "studiis melioribus ultro Rolandus petitur." *Ligurinus*, lib. x. ll. 118–9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 212.

[4] *Cf.* ep. 19 Alex.

[5] Gerhoh, *ib.*, i. c. 56, p. 367.

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was equally aware that Cardinal Rolando, if elected Pope, would pursue the policy of Hadrian. It was evidently his interest to prevent his election, and to secure that of Octavian, who had made his devotion to him manifest.[1]

Hence, the moment he received the news of the death of Hadrian, he displayed the greatest activity. Declaring that it was necessary that the new Pope should be a man who would treat the Empire and its adherents (*fideles*) more honourably (*honestius tractaret*), he sent envoys everywhere to say that he had heard to his great sorrow that already opposing parties had been formed in the Roman Church with regard to the coming papal election. His messengers were further instructed to do all in their power to induce those to whom they were sent not to accept any candidate whose name might be put before them till after communication with their master, the emperor. Especially were they to secure the adhesion of the kings of France and England to this policy, so that no one would be proclaimed Pope "except with their assent and his." In his statements to the people of the Germanic portion of the Empire he was more explicit. He definitely affirmed: "We do not intend to acknowledge anyone as Pope but the one whom the faithful (? *fideles*) have chosen with unanimous consent to the honour of the Empire and to the peace and unity of the Church."[2]

When after such declarations on the part of the emperor we find his ambassadors doing all in their power to bring about the election of his creature, it cannot be doubted that they were acting under his orders, conveyed either

[1] Alexander even declares that it was common report that Frederick had intended, if the opportunity had offered, to make Octavian Pope even whilst Hadrian was alive. Ep. to Arnulf, ap. Watterich, p. 491.

[2] All this we learn from Barbarossa himself in a letter which he sent to Archbishop Ebehard of Salzburg, ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xvi. 686.

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explicitly or implicitly. It was on their advice, so it was said, that Octavian went to the "conclave" provided with a papal mantle;[1] and, as we learn even from the anti-pope's partisans, the canons of St. Peter, it was upon the Count Palatine Otho that the inferior clergy called to elect Octavian when they burst into St. Peter's.[2] In short, at every turn both before and after the election we find Frederick's ambassador, Count Otho, acting against Rolando,[3] and hence we are justified in concluding, with our countryman John of Salisbury,[4] that it was the emperor who "raised up for himself a Balaamitic prophet through whom he might curse the people of God,"—the son of Malediction, for whom the surname of Maledictus was reserved.[5]

Christendom informed of the election.

The schism, as we have said, was now consummated; and, to the great detriment of the Church, men saw two Popes "each with his own cardinals, his own bishops, and his own kings, and with his own peoples who believed in him."[6] It was not, however, the fault of Alexander if men were left in ignorance of the facts of his election. He at

[1] *Libellus tristicie* (Sire Raoul), *l.c.*

[2] "Clerus Romanus . . . circumdantes d. Ottonem . . . clamaverunt . . . D. Octavianum eligite." Ap. W., p. 475.

[3] See both letters of the cardinals of Alex., ap. W., p. 465, and p. 496. *Cf.* ep. 19 of Alex.

[4] Ep. 59. The three cardinals' letter to the Church of Milan speaks of "intrusionem scismaticam Octonis," p. 10. Hence, many of the annals of the Empire itself assert that Frederick made Octavian Pope. The *Annales S. Rudperti* say: Oct. "a parte Cæsaris constitutus . . . sed Rudlandus . . . ab ecclesia eligitur." Ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 776. *Cf.* the *Annales Egmundani*, which relate that it was "the emperor and a section of the cardinals" who elected Octavian, but that "the Romans and more cardinals" chose Rolando. Ap. *ib.*, xvi. p. 461. Other annals (*Contin. Claustroneoburg.*, ap. *ib.*, ix. 615) call Alex. "canonice electo." Again, Gerhoh notes: "Victor, etiam vulgo papa imperatoris nominatur." *L.c.*, i. c. 68, p. 387.

[5] *Cf.* Appendix, p. 442.

[6] *Ann. Laubienses*, an. 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.

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once despatched letters in all directions, to the kings of England and of France, to Constance, the wife of Louis of France, and to bishops and abbots everywhere.[1] In the plainest terms he bade all turn "from the simoniacal depravity of Octavian" and submit to himself. He and his cardinals also sent letters to the emperor, who was besieging Crema.[2] But so furious was Frederick because his schemes had miscarried and Rolando had been elected that not only would he not receive Alexander's letters, but he even wished to hang their bearers. However, through the advice of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and of Welf, duke of Bavaria, wiser counsels prevailed, and it was decided that the emperor should adopt the high rôle of arbitrator between the rival pontiffs.

The emperor summons a council to meet at Pavia, 1159.

Frederick accordingly addressed a letter to Alexander in which, styling him "Roland the chancellor," he called on "his erudition" to present himself at the council which he had summoned to meet at Pavia on the octave of the Epiphany (1160), and to which, he said, he had invited the kings and bishops of the West.[3] His temper, however, prevented him from even making a pretence of impartiality; for the letters which he sent to Octavian at the same time and to the same intent gave him the title of Pope.[4]

The answer of Alexander.

Though this arbitrary conduct on the part of the emperor, and the concurrent violent action of his agent

[1] Ep. 1 ff., or ap. Jaffé, 10,584 (7127) ff.

[2] Boso.

[3] See his letter, ap. Rahewin, iv. 65 (55). *Cf.* Boso.

[4] Boso: "Imperator et Octavianum in suis litteris Romanum pontificem et Alexandrum papam cancellarium nominabat." *Cf.* John of Salisbury (ep. ap. Watterich, p. 500), who adds that this action "senatori et populo favoris sui revelans arcanum." See also the letter of Fastradus (ap. *ib.*, 512): "Manifeste . . . probatum est quod diu ante Papiense concilium Octavianum *in Papam* per nuncios suos et litteras auro bullatas susceperat imperator."

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Otho in the Campagna against Alexander,[1] convinced the Pope's party that they had to dread the bitterest opposition of the powerful Frederick, they feared still more for the liberty of the Church. They therefore impressed upon Alexander that they were all prepared to suffer the last extremity in order to maintain the freedom of the Church.[2] Thus reassured, he gave a spirited reply to Frederick's ambassadors, who found him in the strong hill-town of Anagni, whither the arms of Otho and the presence of Octavian in the opposite hill-town of Segni had forced him to retire. He would honour, he said, the emperor as the advocate and special defender of the Roman Church, but not to the detriment of the honour due to God. Hence he is astonished that, as though he had power over him, he should summon a council without his knowledge and should summon him before him. It is for the Roman Church to judge all the churches, but not to be judged herself; and, he concluded, he would suffer everything rather than that the rights of the Roman Church should be infringed.[3]

Christendom begins to adhere to Alexander.

Meanwhile, the bishops of Christendom, especially those who were not in fear of Barbarossa, began to make manifest their adhesion to Alexander, and to persuade their sovereigns to follow their example. The patriarch of Grado and his suffragans, and the archbishop of Pisa and his, lost no time in excommunicating Octavian. Many also of the bishops of Lombardy and Tuscany promptly

[1] *Cf.* the letter of Alexander's cardinals to Frederick (ap. W., p. 465): "Noverit sublimis gratia vestra quod Otto . . . dominum nostrum et nos plurimum infestavit. . . . Campaniam . . . et patrimonium b. Petri cum intruso . . . Octaviano violenter intravit et terram ipsam studuit ei quibuscunque modis subjugare." See also their encyclical, ap. *ib.*, p. 496.

[2] "Ultimis se periculis unusquisque sponte offerret." Boso, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 401.

[3] *Ib.*

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rejected him, though some "from fear rather than from love" accepted him.[1] Arnulf of Lisieux was the first to bring the truth of Alexander's election before Henry, "our Prince," as he calls him; and he assured the Pope that his sovereign, after some little hesitation, declared "that he would never acknowledge any other Pope" but Alexander. It is true, continued Arnulf, that owing to messages he has received from the emperor to put off acknowledging you for a time, he has refrained from publicly professing his allegiance to you, but he has neither ceased to venerate you nor has he attempted to restrain us from so doing.[2] Hearing that the emperor had endeavoured to win Henry over to Octavian, Archbishop Theobald wrote to him to say: "It is not right for your majesty, without consulting the Church of your kingdom, to impose upon it a man who has not been elected, and who, as is publicly averred, has dared to take so great an honour, not by God's grace, but by the favour and power of an emperor."[3]

If Louis of France followed the example of Henry in at first only privately acknowledging Alexander, his real reason was the same as Henry's. They were at war with each other at the time, and each feared that the other might

[1] So writes Ebehard, the holy and influential archbishop of Salzburg, to Raymund (or Romanus?), bishop of Gurk, towards the close of 1159. Ep. ap. Watterich, ii. 466 n. Showing the methods of Frederick's party, he adds: "Nuntius Mediolanesis archiepiscopi cum litteris captus, et *excæcatus est* a Palatino comite (Otho)."

[2] Ep. 21 of Arnulf, ed. Giles, p. 111, or ap. W., *l.c.* *Cf.* the reply of Alex., ep. 19, or ap. W., p. 490.

[3] "For," he continued, "almost the whole Roman Church is in favour of Alexander." The archbishop wrote, though racked with sickness. Ep. 48, inter epp. Joan. Saresberiensis, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199. The archbishop notes that the English Church is in the unity of the Church, and trusts—vain hope, alas!—that it will never adhere to schismatics: "Nam in unitate consistit, et, Domino auctore, nunquam schismaticis adhærebit."

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seek the alliance of the emperor.[1] But if in the beginning their homage was secret, Ferdinand II., king of Leon, and Geyza II. of Hungary are said to have immediately acknowledged him publicly.[2]

Frederick's assembly at Pavia, 1160.

As the city of Crema made a more stubborn resistance than Frederick had expected, he had to defer the holding of the council at Pavia till February 5.[3] He had summoned to it (*evocavimus*)[4] "the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and religious and God-fearing men of the whole of our empire and of other countries, viz., England,[5] France, Hungary, and Denmark." There were actually present at it, the patriarch of Aquileia, fifty archbishops and bishops, delegates from the king of France and from six archbishops, and Victor and his cardinals,[6] along with the canons of St. Peter and a number of the lay nobility of Rome.

William of Newburgh's account of the synod of Pavia.

Before entering into any detail regarding the assembly at Pavia, we may quote the summary of its doings furnished by our own historian, William of Newburgh. This will let us see not only English opinion on it, but what was thought

[1] See the letter of Philip, abbot of S. Maria de Eleemosyna (in the diocese of Blois, belonging to the Cistercian Order, which at once declared for Alex.), legate of Alexander to the two kings, to his master, ap. W., p. 467; or *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 1359 ff.

[2] Watterich, ii. 467 n. Probably, however, it was only after the council of Toulouse that these kings acknowledged him. See below.

[3] On this council see Rahewin, iv. 72 (62) ff.; Boso, and its acts ap. W., p. 469 ff.

[4] See his letter to "the chancellor Rolando," ap. W., p. 459, and to Hartmann of Brescia, ap. Rahewin, iv. 66 (56). In this latter letter Spain is added and Denmark omitted.

[5] See his letter to Henry II., ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, Record ed., i. 19.

[6] Ep. of Provost Henry of Berhtesgaden to Ebehard, archbishop of Salzburg, who fell ill on the way to Pavia, and sent Henry on to make excuses for his absence, ap. W., p. 471. *Cf.* Rahewin, iv. 74 (64); and Frederick's letter cited *ib.*, c. 79 (69). No faith is to be given to the "epistola concilii" which speaks of 153 bishops as present, *or* as giving their consent by letter. See the denial of these figures made by Fastradus, abbot of Clairvaux, ap. W., p. 512.

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about it by impartial and enlightened contemporaries. After telling of the double election, William proceeds: "This rent might soon have been made whole, and the few might have yielded . . . had not the Emperor Frederick, hating Alexander from his ancient dislike to Rolando, determined on embracing and seconding by every possible means the cause of Octavian. At length he commanded all the bishops of his dominions, *i.e.*, the Italians and Germans, to assemble at Pavia, as if for discussing and investigating the claims of which party preponderated, but in fact, in order that, by deposing Alexander, and approving his opponent, they might celebrate the premature victory of the aforesaid Victor.[1] He ordered the antagonists themselves to be present, and to abide by the decree of the council. Victor, indeed, attended as though to stand by the decision, but Alexander not merely guardedly, but even openly refused the prejudgment (*præjudicium*), which, under the name of judgment, was being prepared for him. The bishops both from the German and the Italian empire assembled by the imperial order at Pavia, along with a multitude of prelates of inferior order, all on the side of Frederick, who with his dukes was present in all his terrors (*terribilis aderat*). Whatever favoured the cause of Alexander, as there was no person to plead for him,[2] was either suppressed in silence, or craftily perverted,

[1] "Episcopos . . . præcepit . . . convenire, tanquam ad discussionem et examen, cujusnam partis merita præponderarent, re autem vera, ut Alexandri parte depressa, partem alteram approbantes, dicti Victoris præmaturam victoriam celebrarent." *Hist. Ang.*, ii. 9.

[2] One of Alexander's cardinals, William of St. Peter *ad vincula*, who was on an embassy to Frederick, took part in the proceedings of the council, but not as the representative of Alexander. He afterwards gave valuable information regarding this assembly. Whether, however, William of Pavia had been sent officially to plead Alexander's cause at the council or not, his silence when his master's interests were decried was much blamed by our countrymen. John of Salisbury

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or turned against him ; and what was wanting in truth to the merits of his adversary was supplied by art. In consequence of this, accepting Victor with all due solemnity as the genuine successor of St. Peter, the synod passed sentence on Alexander by a general decree as a schismatic and a rebel against God. The emperor, with the whole assembly of dukes and nobles, approved the acts of the council, and denounced punishment against all recusants."[1]

In this excellent version of the story of the council of Pavia, the judicious Yorkshireman has swept away the clouds of chicanery with which the partisans of Victor endeavoured to obscure the truth,[2] and has given us in a few words the net results of the work of the council.

It is opened by Frederick.

The assembly was opened by Frederick, who declared that his imperial dignity gave him the right to summon councils, but that it was the business of the bishops to decide on ecclesiastical questions.[3] He then left them to arrive at a foregone conclusion. However, the partisans of Victor did not get their way all at once. His claims had to be urged for seven days (February 5–11). Very many of the Lombard bishops maintained that it was not right to pass sentence on one who was absent. But this attempt to gain time was met by the Germans declaring that it was too burdensome and expensive for those who lived at the ends of the earth to have to attend distant assemblies, and that, if Rolando despised the summons of

(ep. 228, or ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, vi. 279) sarcastically notes : "quam magnanimus, quam fidelis in causa ecclesiæ Romanæ coram Frederico Papiæ inventus est." *Cf.* other letters of the same writer (200 and 231, or ap. *ib.*, pp. 369 and 371).

[1] Stevenson's translation is used for the most part.

[2] *Cf.* the scathing criticism of another of our countrymen, John of Salisbury, on this "conventicle." Ep. 59, ed. Giles, i. p. 63, or ap. W., p. 499 ff.

[3] Rahewin, iv. 74 (64). The documents relating to this gathering at Pavia are given from Rahewin in Labbe, *Concil.*, x. p. 1387 ff., or in W.

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the emperor and the decision of the Church, no regard should be paid to his absence. Octavian, on the other hand, had presented himself for judgment. He should, therefore, be proclaimed the true Pope.[1]

Among the arguments by which an attempt was made to establish the legality of Victor's election, the one most insisted on was the fact that he had been the first to be clad with the papal mantle.[2] This point, however, could not of itself have appealed even to the bishops most devoted to the emperor. What really moved them was the production of letters said to have been written by Alexander and his cardinals to the bishops and cities of Lombardy, in which, as the imperialists expressed it, "their plots against the Empire were clearly manifested."[3] Even if the letters were genuine—and it must be borne in mind that there was no one present to challenge them[4]—they could not have affected the validity of a papal election. But their production was naturally calculated so to inflame the feelings of the Germans against their supposed writer, that very little argument would be required to convince them that he could not be the true Pope. They were easily persuaded to believe that priority in being clad with the red mantle was of paramount importance; that the few cardinals who had elected Octavian

[1] Vincent of Prague, an. 1161, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 678 f. The Lombardy bishops, said the Germans, could attend assemblies in their country for five solidi.

[2] This point is mentioned as one of the principal arguments of Victor's party in all the documents relating to the assembly at Pavia.

[3] "Recitatæ sunt insuper litteræ quamplures bullatæ, ab Alexandro et cardinalibus, qui cum ipso sunt, episcopis et civitatibus Longobardiæ directæ, sed a fidelibus d. imperatoris captæ, ex quarum tenore machinationes eorum et molimina contra imperium patenter sunt deprehensa." Ep. of Provost Henry, ap. W., p. 471.

[4] "Præsertim qui non erat qui prædictis assertionibus et probationibus contradiceret." *Ib.*

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were the more respectable section, the *sanior pars*, of the cardinals; that the canons of St. Peter had some influential voice in papal elections; that certain Roman *clergy*[1] had not perjured themselves, or at least had not quibbled, when they swore that after Octavian's election Rolando himself had bade them obey him; and that the subsequent adhesion of a number of the Roman people was quite enough to make amends for any original defect in their candidate's canonical election. There were of course some, especially among the Italian bishops, whose party spirit did not blind their judgment to the extent required to make them ready to declare the election of Octavian valid. Many of these all at once began to make excuses and to leave the assembly.[2] As soon, however, as this manœuvre made itself manifest, the emperor caused the doors of the church to be closed, and imperial pressure supplied what was wanting to the force of the arguments produced.[3]

[1] See the *epistola concilii*, ap. W., p. 484 f. The epistle tells us naïvely that the laity were not asked to swear to the truth of this: "duximus laicis in hac parte parcendum."

[2] "Ubi cum episcopi, de ore schismaticorum electionis ordinem audivissent, electionem d. nostri submissa voce canonicam judicantes . . ., unus post unum inventis occasionibus de ecclesia exire cœperunt. Quod imperator aspiciens, claudi jussit portas ecclesiæ, atque *paucos*, qui remanserunt (nec plures, ut dicitur, Italicos quam sex aut septem) extrema discrimina eis . . . intentans, ad inclinandum statuæ quam erexerat coartavit." The encyc. of Alexander's cardinals, ap. W., p. 498. *Cf.* the letter of Alexander to Arnulf, ap. *ib.*, p. 492. John of Salisbury too (ep. 59) says that at Pavia all was conducted "velut in castris et sub gladio, minis et terroribus." In support of this statement we read (ap. Vincent of Prague, *l.c.*, and the letter of Fastradus, ap. W., p. 512) of bishops being interrogated singly; and the contemporary chronicler, the priest Magnus of Reichersberg (*Ann.*, an. 1160, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.), says significantly that "the *emperor* brought (*deduxit*) the whole assembly to receive Pope Victor."

[3] Even so the patriarch of Aquileia and others would only sign conditionally "salva in posterum catholicæ ecclesiæ censura." Ep. of Provost Henry, ap. W., p. 472. On the promises and threats used by Frederick, see Boso, ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 402, and the letter of Fastradus

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Condemnation of Alexander.

Accordingly the German remnant of the synod, which John of Salisbury declares to have been more like a theatrical show than a council, confirmed the election of "the lord Pope Victor as spiritual Father and universal Pontiff" and condemned "the chancellor Rolando as a conspirator, a schismatic, and as one who taught that discord and perjury were to be reckoned as blessings." This decision, which we have given in the words of the emperor, was of course accepted by him and by his nobles (February 11).[1]

Solemn enthronisation of Victor.

On the following day (February 12) Victor was conducted in great state from the Church of St. Saviour's outside the city to the cathedral. He was received by the emperor in front of it, helped by him to dismount from his horse, and led by him to the high altar. There his feet were kissed by Frederick and all present in the customary manner.[2] To crown these imposing ceremonies, which proved quite incapable of procuring any general respect for him, Victor duly excommunicated "the leader of the other party" and his principal adherents,[3] and sent legates to the different countries to inform their sovereigns of what had taken place at Pavia.

Failure of the council of Pavia.

But, despite the imperial power, the council of Pavia was a failure. Frederick's desire "to bend the independence of

(*l.c.*): "Quos potuit (Frederick) minis et precibus *singillatim* vocatos coegit suscipere." He says that twenty-four bishops, the bishop of Pavia among them, slipped away. And we read of Henry, abbot of Lorsch, signing "cum se ab eodem explicare non posset." *Chron. Lauresham.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. p. 445.

[1] Ep. Fred., ap. W., p. 482. *Cf.* Vincent of Prague, *l.c.*, and the *epistola concilii.*

[2] See the *acta* and *ep. conc.*, and Vincent and Magnus, *ll. cc.* According to Alexander (ep. ad Arnulf, ap. W., p. 492), Frederick, in order to show his position with regard to the Church, *is said* not merely to have presented Victor with the insignia of the papal office, but to have actually invested him with the Papacy by means of a ring.

[3] Ep. of Provost Henry. *Cf.* the *acta*, etc.

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the Church to the councils of his bishops and to bring it under the imperial yoke" was grievously disappointed.[1] The cardinals and bishops as a body "followed the poor Alexander, and preferred to be with him, exiles from the face of princes, rather than attach themselves to his rival and hold sway with the princes of the earth."[2] Men asked with scorn who had given the Germans a right to legislate for the universal Church;[3] and they averred that their council had done no more than make the validity of Alexander's election more obvious,[4] and that the decline of the great Frederick's power was to be reckoned from the date of his accepting Victor as the true Pope.[5]

Alexander's envoys.

Meanwhile, Alexander was not idle. Even before the holding of the council of Pavia he had sent forth some of his cardinals to state his position. There were apparently five of them in north Italy whilst Frederick's synod was sitting.[6] Of these John of Anagni, of the title of S. Maria in Porticu, seems to have been very active, and is credited[7] with having done much to promote the interests of the Lombard League, which Frederick now began to regard with the greatest concern.[8] At any rate, a few days after

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 569.

[2] John of S., ep. 59.

[3] *Ib.* The language of John on this subject is not complimentary to the Germans. "Quis," he proceeds to ask, "hanc brutis et impetuosis hominibus auctoritatem contulit, ut pro arbitrio principem statuant super capita filiorum hominum?"

[4] *Ib.*

[5] "Nonne princeps ille, cui similem a multo tempore Roma non habuit . . . a die susceptionis Octaviani divino cœpit judicio reprobari." Arnulf, ap. W., p. 469.

[6] *Ep. concil.*, ap. W., p. 487, and Hugh of Poitiers, *Hist. Vizeliacensis monast.*, ap. Bouquet, *Rer. Franc. SS.*, xii. 328.

[7] *E.g.*, by W., p. 452 n.

[8] See his letter to Peregrinus, patriarch of Aquileia (†August 8, 1161). He says that he is sure that he will be greatly distressed to hear how Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Parma, Mantua, and the March of Verona have, without cause, rebelled against the Empire,

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the close of the assembly at Pavia, he did not hesitate to excommunicate not merely the antipope and his Lombard clerical and lay supporters, but Frederick himself, and to declare all his acts null and void till he should make peace with the Church.[1]

Alexander absolves Frederick's subjects from their allegiance, 1160.

This strong action of his legate was promptly followed by Alexander himself, after he had in vain tried to withdraw the emperor from his evil courses. At Anagni, on Maundy Thursday (March 24), he not only solemnly excommunicated Frederick, but he declared his subjects absolved from their allegiance to him, and sent legates to the different countries (to France, to Palestine, to Hungary, and even to Constantinople) to report all that had occurred.[2]

Even in the Empire some turn to Alexander in spite of fierce persecution.

It was now war to the death between Frederick and Alexander, and the former at once proceeded to make furious war both on Milan and his other enemies in arms, and on the unarmed ecclesiastics who adhered to Alexander.[3] Those who would not acknowledge Octavian were banished, and their places filled by supporters of the antipope.[4] In his pride Frederick is said to have threatened to destroy even kingdoms should they dare to uphold

which has been so laboriously built up by the blood and treasure of the great. They have declared that the Teutons shall no longer reign over them; but he will die rather than let the Empire be destroyed in his time. Ap. W., *ib.* On the bond between the Milanese and the papal party, see Frederick's letter to Ebehard, etc., ap. *ib.*, p. 482.

[1] *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul), ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1183 f.

[2] Boso, and epp. 19, 20. *Cf.* Jaffé, 10,629 and 10,630.

[3] "Crudelis jam Ordini nostro (the Benedictine, *i.e.*, the Cistercian) incumbit persecutio, adeo ut trans Renum quorundam bona totaliter publicentur, grangie diripiantur . . . quia d. Victori in confirmatione apostolicæ dignitatis contraire videntur." Still, the General Chapter decided that Alexander must be supported, and that "cuncta temporalia pro *veritate amittere* non pertimescant." Ep. ap. Amelli, p. 24. *Cf.* ep. 3.

[4] Boso.

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Alexander.[1] But with all his exertion of tyrannical power he could not compel all the bishops and nobles of Germany even to regard Victor as the true Pope.[2]

The action of England and France with regard to the rival pontiffs.

Meanwhile, in all the different countries of Christendom the question of the double election had been earnestly discussed. Both in France and in England most of the clergy embraced the cause of Alexander at an early period. The English were greatly influenced by Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux,[3] and by Archbishop Theobald, and the French by the Cistercian St. Peter, archbishop of Tarentaise.[4] Gained over by Cardinal Imarus, the order of Cluny at first adhered to Octavian, but the Carthusians and Cistercians, now of greater influence than the Cluniacs, promptly declared for Alexander.[5]

As soon as the council of Pavia was over, both the rival

[1] "Imperator noster non solum potestatibus humilioribus, verum etiam regnis et regibus exterminium minatur, qui sentientes cum Alessandro, d. Victori in soliditate gradus apostolici obviare conantur." Ep. ap. Amelli, p. 25.

[2] This is allowed by imperialist writers, *e.g.*, by the author of the *Gesta abb. Trud.*, Contin. ii., n. 7, an. 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 347. *Cf. Ann. Ratisponenses*, an. 1160, ap. *ib.*, xvii., and *Ann. Pegavienses*, an. 1159, ap. *ib.*, xvi. In his persecution he seems to have been ably seconded by Octavian. "Ipse enim erat, qui crudelius cæteris clericos affligebat, persecutus homines inopes et mendicos, et compunctos corde mortificans," writes Peter of Blois to Cardinal William of Pavia. Ep. 48, an. 1178, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207.

[3] See his letter to the bishops of England, written towards the early part of 1160, ap. W., p. 503 f. Gilbert Foliot (then bishop of Hereford), in a letter to Alexander, speaking of this epistle, says: "Si quid vero tantorum luminum præclaris potuit superandi fulgoribus, id fidelis vestri d. Lexoviensis episcopi . . . ad plenum cumulavit epistola." Ep. 148, ed. Giles, i. 197. *Cf.* ep. 19 of Alexander himself. A very charming account of Arnulf, of John of Salisbury, and of other leading ecclesiastics of their time, will be found in the last chapter of vol. i. of Miss K. Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings*.

[4] See his *Life*, ap. *Acta SS.*, t. ii., Maii, p. 330 ff., n. 19 ff.; or Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, v. p. 114 f.

[5] Hugh of Poitiers, *Hist. Vizeliac. monast.*, ap. W., p. 455.

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pontiffs despatched their envoys to the different courts of Europe. To the kings of England and France went from Alexander cardinals Henry of Pisa, William of Pavia, and the cardinal-deacon Odo or Otho.[1] These two sovereigns, though favourable to Alexander from the first, still, through suspicion of one another and respect for the emperor, put off, as we have already seen, publicly acknowledging either claimant. After the council of Pavia, however, it was necessary to take action, and the two kings decided to hold a joint council of the two kingdoms. In the meantime it was resolved to hold separate councils in order to ascertain the feeling of each nation. Archbishop Theobald at once summoned the bishops of England to meet in London,[2] while, about the same time, they were informed by Arnulf that Henry was simply waiting for their assent to make public profession of his allegiance to Alexander. What his private opinions about the claims of Alexander are, continued the bishop, he has manifested by words and deeds. He has stated on oath that he will never acknowledge any other Pope than Alexander; and, whilst he receives his communications with respect, he will not as much as touch the letters of Octavian with his hands, but takes hold of them with a piece of stick, and throws them behind his back as far as he can.[3]

The bishops of England, a country "always most devoted to the sublimity of the Apostolic See,"[4] accordingly met together about the end of May under the presi- The council of London, 1160.

[1] *Ib.*; Boso; and *Chron. Sigebert. Contin. Aquicinctina*, an. 1160. *Cf.* the letter of these three cardinals to the Church of Milan, ap. Amelli, p. 8 ff.

[2] John of Salisbury, ep. 59 *sub fin.*

[3] Ep. ad episc. Angliæ, ap. W., p. 504; or in full, ap. Bouquet, *Rer. Franc. SS.*, xvi. p. 661 ff.

[4] "Regnum Angliæ apostolicæ semper sublimitati devotissimum," writes Gilbert Foliot to Pope Alexander. Ep. 148, ed. Giles, i. 198; or ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, v. 19, R. S.

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dency of their aged and infirm archbishop, and carefully considered the evidence relating to the schism, and the regulations of the Church affecting elections. The resulting debate soon showed that the great majority of the English hierarchy were in favour of Alexander. It was reported that one or two were disposed to favour Octavian, but the most influential and most numerous section supported the cause of his rival.[1] The assembly did not pass a formal vote in favour of Alexander, as the king did not wish the joint decision of the French and English Church to be anticipated, but the archbishop made it clear to Henry that the bishops of England stood by Alexander.[2]

The joint council of Beauvais, 1160.

A similar lead was given to Henry by the bishops of Normandy at Neuf Marché, and to Louis VII. by the French bishops at Beauvais.[3]

Among the other influences which moved the bishops of France to support Alexander were the words of the distinguished abbot, Peter de la Celle. Writing to Henry, bishop of Beauvais, he denounced Octavian as one of those who "without God would reign for Him," and who would rend the seamless coat of Christ, a crime which "the unity of Catholic faith" accounts as worse than the piercing of Christ Himself on the Cross. From the holes of the nails and spear sprang our redemption, whereas from schism only comes "the loss of souls and the depravation of morals." "You have," he continued, addressing Henry, "Alexander, or, should I say, Peter; nay, rather you have Christ who has two servants, Peter and Alexander. . . . I know your royal courage, your stout-hearted courage (*inflexibilem cervicem*) against stiff-necked

[1] Salisbury, *l.c.* "Pars hæc (that of Alexander) pluribus est et melioribus accepta."

[2] See Theobald's letter to Henry, ep. 64 inter epp. of John of S.

[3] *Chron.*, Rob. de Monte, an. 1160.

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iniquity, and your ardent zeal. Do then your best in accordance with the dignity of your rank, with your noble blood, with the duty of your office, and with your profession as a Christian."[1]

The bishops of England and France at length met together at Beauvais about July 22.[2] There were also present at the council the three cardinals who had been sent into France by Alexander, and Cardinals Guido and John who had elected Octavian, as well as envoys from the emperor and the king of Spain.[3] The cause of the antipope was urged by Guido "with all his powers of genius and oratory. After he had concluded, William of Pavia, a most eloquent man . . . rebutted every allegation in the most convincing manner and completely refuted nearly every word which the cardinal of Crema had uttered. . . . At last the truth of the whole affair became so apparent that both kings no longer hesitated to abjure the cause of Octavian, and to acknowledge Alexander, and with their subject kingdoms henceforth to obey him as a father in the things that appertained to God."[4] The decision of the council was

[1] Ep. i. 22 (al. i. 26), ap. *P. L.*, t. 202.

[2] Howlett, in his preface (pp. li–liii) to the *Chronicles of Stephen, etc.*, R. S., holds that the joint council was held at Beauvais in July 1160, and not at Toulouse in 1161 as supposed by Labbe. To his opinion I subscribe, if only because it appears that Henry was not near Toulouse either in 1160 or in 1161. *Cf.* Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 49 ff. The *Annals of Cambray*, an. 1160 (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.) give us both the place and the time. "Prope ergo festam b. Mariæ Magdalenæ a memoratis regibus utrorumque regnorum ecclesiam placuit congregari Belvaco, quatinus illic discuteretur de dissidio sedis apostolicæ." For the time, see also R. de Diceto, *Ymag. Hist.*, 1160.

[3] Gerhoh, *De investig. Antichrist.*, i. c. 56. He seems to stand alone in saying the council was held at Toulouse. He says that a hundred bishops and abbots were present at it.

[4] Will. of Newburgh, *Hist. A.*, ii. The kings "d. Alexandrum recipere, et cum regnis sibi subditis ei de cætero in his quæ Dei sunt, tamquam patri parere." *Cf.* the letter of Fastradus, often cited already

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not, however, arrived at quite as simply as the words of William of Newburgh, just quoted, might lead one to suppose. The imperial party were able. They realised that an adverse verdict by an impartial and influential council would be fatal to the cause of Victor. They must, therefore, at least, prevent it from coming to any decision. There were also some among the bishops who were anxious not to have any master, and who consequently were desirous that there should not be a definitely recognised Pope. They accordingly urged that the question was obscure; that there was everything to gain by delay, as the death of one of the claimants might settle the difficulty; that, as far as the kings were concerned, they should remember that "the Roman Church always bore heavily on princes"; and that there was no cause for hurry, as the bishops in each kingdom could manage its religious affairs in the meanwhile. To this line of argument the envoys of Frederick and Victor at once attached themselves, and it seemed likely that the policy of procrastination could carry the day. The king of France declared that he would leave the settlement of the affair in the hands of the king of England, and would abide by his decision.[1]

Here was our greedy king's chance. In the year 1158 it had been arranged that in due course a marriage should take place between his son Henry and Margaret, the daughter of the French king. At that date Henry was only about three years old, and Margaret little more than six months. It was further arranged that when, with the consent of the Church, the marriage did take place, Henry

ap. W., p. 511 ff. On this assembly see also the letter of the three cardinals to the Church of Milan, ap. Amelli, pp. 9–10; and of brother E., "inutilis minister fratrum in Eberbach," ap. *ib.*, p. 26.

[1] Our authority for all this is the letter of Arnulf to the cardinals, ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 666, or W., p. 510.

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should enter into possession of Le Vexin and its castles, which were to form her dower.[1] With this agreement in view, Henry privately proposed to Alexander's legates that if they would assent to the marriage taking place at once, he would acknowledge their master as the true Pope. Anxious to prevent further delay in the public acceptance of Alexander by France and England, the legates gave their consent, and the council, following the example of Henry and Louis, recognised Alexander as Pope, and excommunicated the schismatics.[2]

Various countries acknowledge Alexander, 1160.

One result of the decision of the council at Beauvais was that the example of England and France was promptly followed by Ireland, Spain, and Norway.[3] Before the year 1160 had passed away, the Latin Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch had submitted to the claims of Alexander, as had also the kingdoms of Denmark and of Hungary, the Greek emperor, and the whole Cistercian order, not to mention the two Sicilies.[4] In a word, it may

[1] *Cf.* Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1158, and the "Pacis instrumentum," ap. Bouquet, *ib.*, p. 21. See Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. 470 f.

[2] Arnulf; Will. of N.; the *Annals of Cambray*; the letter of Fastradus; ep. 148 of Gilbert Foliot, *ll. cc.* The last-named author writes: "Et Anglorum vobis et Gallicana simul ecclesia non in occulto jam loquens, sed in omnibus suis finibus jam patenter obediat." See also ep. 40, Alex. to the bishop of Beauvais.

[3] The ep. of Arnulf to the cardinals.

[4] *Cf.* William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. c. 29; *Hist. regis Ludovici*, c. 21, ed. Molinier; Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 200; Helmold, *Chron. Slav.*, i. 90; Boso. There is extant (ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 27) an interesting letter from Geyza (II.), "the most noble king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Rama," to Louis of France, in which he says that the emperor has chosen a Pope of his own, but that he, "fearing God and not man, like a disciple (*cultor*) of the Catholic faith," has accepted Alexander, as the Universal Church and France have done. On the attitude of Denmark, see Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, l. xiv. pp. 527, 533 f. Saxo tells of the failure of Octavian's legate to gain the Danes. He held a council: "Quod tenui frequencia habitum, majore ludibrio quam gloria cele-

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be said with William of Newburgh that "the whole Latin world, with the exception of the German provinces," accepted Alexander. But the emperor, humorously continues our northern historian, "deeming it beneath his imperial majesty to be convinced even by reason, deferred for a longer time to yield to the evident truth."[1]

The dispensation granted by the legates.

Another result of the negotiations at Beauvais was not so satisfactory as the general acknowledgment of the true Pope. When Louis found that in consequence of the dispensation granted by Alexander's cardinals, his little daughter had been married to the child, Prince Henry, and that the latter's father had begun immediately to take possession of her dower,[2] he was most indignant. Feeling that he had been tricked, he not only complained to the Pope of the action of the legates, but took up arms against the English king, and waged a war, fortunately of short duration, against him. Alexander was naturally much distressed at the way in which his staunchest friend had been duped, and commissioned Cardinal Jacinthus (Hyacinth) to make known to Louis how much he was grieved at the loss which the thoughtless conduct of his legates had brought upon the prince who was the most beloved by the Roman Church. He was, however, compelled to add by the same intermediary that he was in such straits that he could not comply with the king's wishes.[3] These were, no doubt, that he should institute

bravit." P. 534, ed. Holder. *Cf.* p. 539. Alexander himself (ep. 30, Jan. 20, 1161) was able to assure Ebehard of Salzburg that the Eastern Church (*in concilio Nazareth*), and those of France, England, and Spain (*tota occidentalis ecclesia*), had already acknowledged him. On the recognition of Alexander by the Emperor Manuel, see *Annales Seligenstadenses*, an. 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, t. xvii. p. 32.

[1] *L.c.*

[2] Ralph, *Ymag. Hist.*, an. 1160, ed. R. S., i. 304; Rob. de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1160; Will. of N., *Hist.*, ii. 24.

[3] The letter of Jacinthus, ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 24.

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proceedings against Henry. But, not daring to take the English king to task, Alexander turned so fiercely on the unfortunate legates that Arnulf of Lisieux was forced to take up their defence; and, in his letter to the cardinals, so often quoted, urged that they had been placed in a most difficult position, and would never have granted the dispensation had they not been driven by hard necessity, and had they not felt sure of effecting great good.[1]

Financial difficulties of Alexander.

Even in Italy and in Germany, the decision of the council of Beauvais infused new life into the partisans of Alexander. In Germany, Ebehard, archbishop of Salzburg, generally acknowledged to be one of the best bishops of the Empire, began with enthusiasm and success to consolidate a party favourable to Alexander.[2] In Italy the Republic of Venice, if it had not done so already, acknowledged Alexander,[3] as did also, by degrees at least, most of the bishops of Italy. But if the dawn of success encouraged Alexander's party, the advent of difficulties did not dishearten Frederick. He carried on his campaign against Milan and the rebellious cities of Lombardy with vigour; and, by watching the passes of the Alps,[4] by

[1] "Numquam ad consensum dispensationis illius pertrati potuissent, nisi eos inexpugnabilis necessitas, inæstimabile bonum recompensationis illico venturæ traxisset." Ap. *ib.*, p. 666.

[2] "Nutantem ecclesiam in Teutonicis partibus ad unitatem . . . S. R. E. revocabat," says (n. 23) the author of his *Life*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. p. 45. *Cf.* the words of another anonymous disciple who wrote his life, c. 8, ap. *ib.*, p. 81; and Hefele, *Concil.*, vii. 386, Fr. ed., for the council which he held at Freisach, near Klagenfurt.

[3] *Hist. ducum. Venet.*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. p. 79. "Electio . . . Alexandri, quia canonice fuerat celebrata, a memorato duce (Vitale Michieli II.) . . . et episcopis Venecie primo approbata fuit, et postmodum ab ecclesiasticis Ytalie viris suscepta."

[4] Epp. 35–36, Alex. "Aditus viarum ita per satellites . . . obstruxit, quod illi jam non valeant usque ad nos transire, a quibus R. Ecclesia in necessitatibus suis opportuna recipere suffragia consuevit." Anagni, Feb. 17, 1161. *Cf.* William of Newburgh, *Hist.*, ii. 14.

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guarding the roads, and by seizing as much of the Patrimony of St. Peter as he could, he succeeded to a large extent in cutting off Alexander's communications with Christendom, and in reducing him to the direst financial straits. Nothing is better calculated to give a satisfactory idea of Frederick's method of dealing with Alexander than the narrative which our countryman Jocelin of Brakelond[1] has left us of a journey which his abbot Sampson made in Italy at this period. Sampson had occasion to go to Pope Alexander in connection with the church at Woolpit, and afterwards gave this account of his travels to his monks: "I journeyed to Rome in the time of the schism between Pope Alexander and Octavian; and I passed through Italy at the time when all clerks bearing letters of our lord the Pope Alexander were taken; and some were incarcerated, and some were hanged, and some with nose and lips cut off were sent back to the Pope to his shame and confusion. I, however, pretended to be a Scotchman,[2] . . . and used to shake my staff in the manner in which they use that weapon they call a *gaveloc* (pike) at those who mocked me, uttering threatening language after the manner of the Scotch. To those who met and questioned me as to who I was, I answered nothing but

[1] A monk of St. Edmundsbury. *Cronica* Jocelini de Brakelonda. We use Tomlins's translation, p. 14; London, 1844.

[2] The imperialists must evidently have been under the impression that, because the English supported Alexander, the Scotch favoured Octavian. That such was not the case is clear from the Scottish annals. The *Chronicon Mailrosensis*, an. 1159, says that Alexander was canonically elected, but that Frederick "set up for himself an idol —I mean the antipope Octavian. . . . William, bishop of Moray, and Nicholas, at that time the chamberlain of the king (Malcolm), paying a visit to the Roman court, on the service of King Malcolm, of their own free will went to see Pope Alexander at Anagni, which is beyond Rome. They were received by him with due honour, . . . William being appointed the legate for the kingdom of Scotland." Stevenson's translation. *The Chronicle of Holyrood*, an. 1159, confirms this.

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'Ride, ride, Rome; turne Cantwereberi,'[1] . . . Having obtained letters from the Pope, . . . on my return I passed a certain castle, . . . and behold the officers thereof seized me, saying: 'This vagabond who makes himself out to be a Scotchman, is either a spy or bears letters from the false Pope Alexander.'[2] And while they examined my ragged clothes, and my leggings, and my breeches, and even the old shoes which I carried over my shoulders, after the fashion of the Scotch, I thrust my hand into the little wallet which I carried, wherein was contained the writing of our lord the Pope lying close to a little jug which I used for drinking; and, by the permission of God and St. Edmund, I drew out the writing along with the jug. Then, extending my arm aloft, I held the writ underneath the jug. They could see the jug plainly enough, but they did not find the writ. . . . Whatever money I had about me they took away; and so it behoved me to beg from door to door . . . until I arrived in England."

Frederick's council of Cremona, 1161.

But Frederick was not content with stopping the Pope's supplies. He endeavoured to rob him of the allegiance which the Christian world was laying at his feet, and for that purpose decided to hold a more imposing council than that of Pavia. Accordingly, Victor summoned the prelates "of the whole world" to meet at Cremona on May 21, 1161.[3] But the council of Cremona brought no more advantage to Barbarossa's Pope than the council of Pavia. The bishops "of the whole world" did not come

[1] Tomlins notes that this means: "I am a pilgrim going to Rome and Canterbury, and having nothing to do with either Pope."

[2] Peter of Blois (ep. 48 to Card. Will. of Pavia, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 141 ff.) tells how he was seized in the same way by the partisans of Octavian, whom he describes as most pompous in his words and manner. "Fui præsens ubi se faciebat tanquam statuam adorari."

[3] See his letter to Ebehard of Salzburg, ap. W., p. 513, and the *Annales Laubienses* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. 24) and *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, an. 1161.

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to it, and the necessities of the war with Milan caused its meeting to be deferred till June 17. Finally, it was held at New Lodi, and not at Cremona; and again, as at Pavia, it was attended only by bishops and princes of the Empire. Five senators of Rome were also present at the council, as were envoys from some of the kings, even, so it is said,[1] from Henry and Louis. Though Victor assisted at the council, Frederick is said to have been its president.[2] Details of this assembly are wanting; but after a session of three days (June 19–22) it reaffirmed the decrees of Pavia in Victor's favour.[3]

Alexander back in Rome, June 1161.

Whatever gain the decision of Cremona-Lodi brought to the antipope, it was probably more than balanced by the news that Alexander had re-entered Rome. When Alexander had first retired into the Campagna, it was dominated by the Count Palatine Otho;[4] but by degrees the tide turned, and the Pope became its master.[5] This enabled him to return to Rome, and, on June 6, he was solemnly received by the fickle Romans at the Church of S. Maria Nuova (now S. Francesca Romana), near the stronghold of the Frangipani.[6] But, though on the following Sunday he solemnised Mass at the Lateran basilica, the imperial faction grew too strong for him, and he had to leave the city before the month had run its course.

[1] *Ann. S. Petri Erphesfurtenses antiqui*, an. 1161, ap. *Mon. Erphest.*, ed. Holder-Egger. Some modern writers not unnaturally have their doubts about the presence of envoys from France and England. There does not seem to be any mention of Frederick's council of Cremona-Lodi in our chronicles. Other kings are said by Morena to have sent "literæ excusatoriæ."

[2] *Ann. S. Petri, l.c.*

[3] *Cf.* Otto Morena, *Hist.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1089.

[4] "Campaniam siquidem et patrimonium b. Petri . . . violenter intravit (Otto)," etc. See the letter of Alexander's cardinals to Frederick, ap. W., p. 465.

[5] *Ann. Ceccan.*, an. 1160.

[6] Ep. 46; and Boso.

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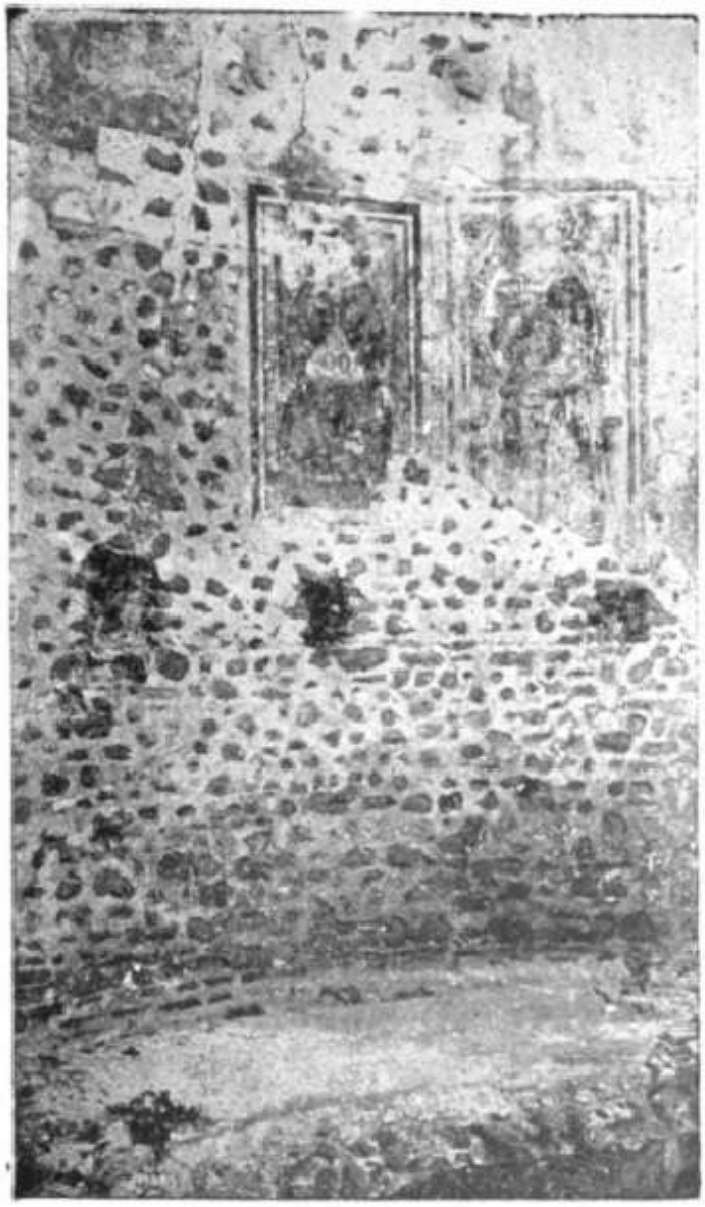

A Fresco from the Church of St. Cesarius at Ninfa.
From Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*.

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Roman art.

However, in the midst of violent quarrels, anathemas, savage mutilations, and cruel wars, it is pleasant to be able to pause for a moment to tell of the advance of the arts of peace. The church of which mention has just been made had for some time before this year (1161) been undergoing extensive repairs. Its patrons, the Frangipani, had been adorning it with the mosaics which attract the attention of the traveller to-day, and on Alexander's first triumphal entry into Rome, they induced him to renew its dedication to the service of God.[1] The mosaic work which they caused to be executed by the foreign artists introduced by Paschal II., still occupies the apse of the church. "It is unique in design and style," but not good; the flesh-tints "are of a flat and unrelieved yellowish tone; the figure of the Saviour is long, lean, and ugly"; and the close dress of our Lady "is full of gilding and imitations of jewellery," while "the tormented lines of the drapery" cannot conceal the defective shapes of the principal figures.[2] Still, despite the failure of the apsidal mosaic of S. Maria Nuova, we are assured that "it was really under this great Pope (Alexander III.) that the Roman school attained to complete mastery in the handling of its peculiar style. . . . The little city of Ninfa . . . contains numerous structures of about his time, . . . and everywhere in the Roman territory construction and decoration on a large scale was commenced. The superb cathedral of Terracina was built, and that of Anagni (where Alexander resided for a time) was completed (1179), and that of Civita Castellana partly constructed, entirely or in part by artists of the Roman school."[3]

[1] Ep. 53; and Boso.

[2] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i. p. 68; and Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 321 f.

[3] Frothingham, *l.c.* He also "restored or replaced" the ambones of S. Maria Maggiore. *Cf.* Grisar, *Hist. of Rome and the Popes*, ii. 122 f.

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The Pope's debts.

The short visit of the Pope to Rome just related would seem to have done him more harm than good. Not personally a rich man, and debarred from access to the ordinary sources of papal revenue which had been cut off by Frederick, Alexander had been very soon compelled to borrow money. Already in the February of this year, while thanking certain French bishops for the financial help they had already sent him, he tells them that he is compelled to ask them for further aid to enable him to pay his debts,[1] reminding them that they should be very ready to assist him, because "the Roman Church was suffering not only for its own liberty, but also for that of all the churches."[2]

Even if it be supposed that financial aid received from France enabled Alexander to enter Rome with money to spend, it is certain that he left it once more in debt. No sooner was he within the walls of the city than every Roman, as he expressed it himself,[3] looked to see how much he had in his hand to give, and reached forth his outstretched palm to grasp all he could. Then to Alexander as to Jurgurtha of old came the thought to buy the whole venal city. But, though he is said to have expended "about eleven thousand talents of the money of Lucca,"[4]

[1] *Cf.* a letter of the archbishop of Rheims begging his suffragans and abbots for financial help for the Pope: "Credimus in communem notitiam devenisse, qualiter D. Papa pro tuitione ecclesiasticæ libertatis se ad omne discrimen objecerit, Ecclesiæque Dei persecutionibus commoriens incessanter sit afflictione propriæ personæ, et debitorum onere prægravatus." Ep. 173, ap. the epp. of Peter of Blois, *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 468. This letter is obviously a response to the one of Alexander quoted in the text.

[2] "Ad mentem revocans quot et quanta gravamina et augustias R. ecclesia pro sua et omnium ecclesiarum libertate tuenda hoc tempore patiatur." Ep. 35.

[3] "Cum illo populo habitamus qui . . . ad Romanorum pontificum consuevit manus respicere." Ep. 383.

[4] "Romanus pontifex recens ordinatus, dum ei fidelitatem jurant, circa xi milia talentorum Lucensis monete quasi loco beneficii

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he failed to satiate the Romans' lust for gold, and so to buy their loyalty, and had to leave the city empty-handed.

His entry into Rome roused all the fury of the opposition, and the whole of the Patrimony from Acquapendente to Ceprano, with the exception of Orvieto, Anagni, Terracina and the "munitio Castri," was overrun by the schismatics and their German allies.[1] The financial distress of Alexander became acute; and for the first time do we *read* of a Pope's pecuniary affairs becoming so involved that he had to borrow more money to pay off debts already contracted. Alexander was reduced to begging the canons of Pisa to borrow money for him at reasonable interest in order that the monies due to Mancinus, a citizen of Lucca, might be paid in full. The Pope undertakes that he or his successors will refund what the Pisan canons borrow on his behalf.[2]

We are here on the threshold of those financial troubles which, though for the most part brought on by others,[3]

exquirunt." Gerhoh, *De investig. Antichrist.*, i. 49. The talent is here the same as a mark, or 8 ounces of silver, or 160 denarii, or somewhat over 13 solidi of which 20 went to the pound. *Cf.* ep. 173 among the letters of Peter of B. just quoted: "Efferatam siquidem Romanorum malitiam et inexplebilem pecuniæ sitim D. Papæ munificentia et consilio toties expugnatam succubuisse certa relatione comperimus." Hence the Pope was "sumptibus exinanitus immensis."

[1] Boso. I cannot identify the "munitio Castri." It was doubtless some hill-town like Castrimonium (Marino).

[2] Alexander begs them "pecuniam sub convenientibus usuris, si aliter fieri nequit, a civibus vestris mutuo invenire, et acquirere studeatis, . . . ut Manc . . . credita pecunia . . . integre persolvatur." Ep. 52, September 20, 1161.

[3] Even Giraldus Cambrensis (Alexander's younger contemporary), who is never slow to sneer at Roman avarice, denounces the princes who, so far from protecting the Roman Church, plunder it, so that "b. Petri cathedra non mediocriter bonis sæcularibus est apporiata et mundanis opibus ac rerum affluentibus destituta." He also vigorously denounces the Roman people (whom he does not hesitate to call the dregs, *fæx*, of the old nobility left behind by Constantine) and the other Italians who imitate them for similar conduct: "Papæ dominium

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were at no distant date to cause the Popes to have recourse to most unsatisfactory methods of raising money, and which were thus to prove one of the most potent agents in bringing about the religious catastrophe of the sixteenth century. Although, no doubt, the oppression of the powerful was the principal cause of the pecuniary difficulties in which the Popes were frequently involved during the Middle Ages, there can yet be no doubt that maladministration and peculation on the part of some of their officials was perhaps not infrequently another cause. And so at this very period Gerhoh of Reichersberg boldly declared that much of the money that went to Rome simply enriched some eight or twelve persons attached to the papal chancellary.[1] The Provost was certainly a sensational and censorious writer, but at the same time it must be confessed that in this case he put his finger on a real sore.

Papal "Provisions" or suspensions of advowsons.

Another result of the poverty of many of the Popes was that they were at length reduced to rewarding deserving men or those to whom they were under obligations at the expense of the churches of the different countries. One method adopted for this purpose was that of "Provisions." In opposition to the recognised rights of the bishops or of other patrons of benefices or *livings*, the Popes ultimately

neque verentes nec reverentes . . . totum apostolorum patrimonium præripiunt, solum dominationis nomen inane summo pontifici relinquentes." *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, iv. c. 12, ap. R. S., iv. 286.

[1] The monies in question: "in lucra cedunt paucorum, ut puta duodecim . . . aut octo hominum cancellariorum, cardinalium et cartulariorum, quorum implentur marsupia." *De investig.*, i. c. 48. *Cf. Tractatus Eboracenses*, v. p. 681, ap. *Mon. Ger. Libel.*, iii. 681. The author of these tracts may possibly have been Gerard, archbishop of York (1101–1108), who in his *youth* was most hostile to the Roman curia, perhaps because (as was very often the case with those who reviled the Roman court) his own life would not bear close inspection. *Cf.* his *Life*, ap. Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 158 ff. Raine is his apologist.

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claimed the right of instituting or *providing* incumbents for them, who were to receive the *livings* as soon as they should become vacant. This system of "Provisions" cannot be said to be altogether objectionable in itself, as it could be used as a convenient way of rewarding such as had deserved well of the Church in any particular country; but it was a system obviously capable of being abused, and, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries especially, was in fact greatly abused. Foreigners were often appointed to livings by papal provision who either did not reside in the country whence they drew their revenues, or, if they did, were ignorant of the language and careless of the customs of the land in which they were supposed to be working for the good of souls. We mention this system here, not because Alexander abused it, but because, as far as we know, the first traces of it are to be found in his correspondence. In the course of the year 1171 he wrote to our King Henry commending to him a certain David, an Englishman, who had made his studies at Bologna, and had been one of the king's envoys to the Apostolic See, and informing him that, as David had shown himself possessed of excellent talents, he had himself named him a canon of Lincoln, and had nominated him for the next prebend which should be vacant.[1]

[1] Ep. 800. The Pope's wish was to reward good and learned ecclesiastics ("qui inter cæteros litteratura, honestate et discretione præfulgent"), and he found that Master David was too much in love "with his own sweet native land" to wish to abide anywhere but in England. The Pope says he has made the appointment "ne forte, aliquo casu interveniente, nostræ *provisionis* impediretur effectus," and he asks the king to see to it that his nomination holds good. *Cf.* Jaffé, 11916–18. *Cf. ib.*, 13,440-2, for a similar "provision" in France in favour of the *poet* John, and for the determined opposition of the bishop of Senlis in regard to it. Nos. 13,688–9, etc., show further opposition in France. Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist. of Eng.*, ii. p. 38 (Oxford, 1875), assigns the year 1226 as that in which the Popes first made an attempt to organise a general system of "provisions."

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Alexander's debts in 1161.

As far, however, as Alexander's sad financial position in the year 1161 was concerned, there can be no doubt that Barbarossa's violence was accountable for it; and yet that prince endeavoured to turn it against his victim. With a view to prevent Alexander's finding an asylum in France, he wrote to its chancellor to tell him that he was coming there to get money to pay off his debts, which amounted to more than twenty thousand pounds.[1]

Alexander leaves Italy, 1161.

In the letter just quoted, Frederick with brutal frankness was able to inform his correspondent that his agents (*fideles*) had brought it about that Alexander could not find a place in the neighbourhood of Rome where he could lay his head. Unable to withstand the imperial pressure, Alexander decided to go to France; and, appointing Julius, bishop of Præneste, his vicar in Rome, put to sea from Terracina with his suite (*domestica familia*) in four fine galleys which had been provided for him by the king of Sicily. Unfortunately, a violent storm arose soon after the ships had weighed anchor, and, though the whole of the papal party and their effects were saved, the vessels themselves were completely wrecked. Fresh ships were, however, procured, and setting sail after Christmas from the mouth of the Olevola, near the promontory of Circe, the Pope landed safely at Genoa, where, despite Frederick's prohibition, he received a royal welcome (January 21, 1162).[2]

[1] Ep. of Fred. to Hugh, bishop of Soissons. He says that Alexander is going to France: "ut etiam corradat viginti mille libras et amplius, unde creditoribus suis debita persolvat, quia sub alieno ære valde graviter ipse laborat." Ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 202.

[2] Boso. *Cf.* Marangone, *Cron. Pisana*, an. 1162, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix., and Caffaro, *Ann. Genovesi*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 278, or in the much better edition of Belgrano, ap. *Fonti per la storia d' Italia.* The rivalry of the two republics is well brought out by this voyage of Alexander. Although he sailed in a galley belonging to their archbishop, the Pisans, "through love and fear of Frederick," would not receive him into their city, whereas the Genoese received him "as though he were our Lord himself."

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Leaving that hospitable city[1] on March 25, Alexander sailed for the volcanic islet of Maguelonne, which he reached on April 11. Now but the veriest ghost of a town, Maguelonne, even in the twelfth century,[2] was unsuited to lodge a Pope and all who wished to see him. Accordingly, mounted on a white palfrey, Alexander left it, and endeavoured to make his way towards Montpellier; but so great was the crowd that pressed around him, eager to touch even the hem of his cloak, that he could scarcely proceed. At some distance from the city he was met by the governor, who, accompanied by the barons of the neighbourhood, escorted him into the city, leading his horse.[3] Among those who came to greet the Pope, Boso names with evident interest a "certain Saracen prince with his companions," and tells how with bent knee and head "he adored the Pope as the holy and pious God of the Christians," and then harangued him in his own language in most grandiloquent terms which were explained by an interpreter. Alexander returned a gracious reply, and placed the dusky prince among the honoured ones at his feet.

[1] Alexander showed his gratitude to the Genoese by his exertions to obtain for them a renewal of their privileges in the East (Jaffé, 13,402), and by granting distinctions to their archbishop. *Ib.*, 13,375. *Cf.* ep. Alex. 65.

[2] On the remains of Maguelonne and of its church, wherein Alexander consecrated an altar, see Baring Gould, *In Troubadour-Land*, p. 227 ff., London, 1891.

[3] Boso, and ep. 64.

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CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDER'S SOJOURN IN FRANCE. THE COUNCIL OF MONTPELLIER; THE CONFERENCE OF SAINT-JEAN DE LOSNE; THE COUNCIL OF TOURS; THE DEATH OF VICTOR IV., AND THE PROCLAMATION OF ANOTHER ANTIPOPE. ALEXANDER RETURNS TO ROME (1162–1165).

The council of Montpellier, 1162.

THE first Sunday that Alexander passed at Montpellier (April 15) he said Mass before an enormous number of people, and took the opportunity to explain to them the circumstances of his election, and to excommunicate once more both Octavian and Frederick.[1] Whilst news of his arrival in Provence was spreading in all directions, he sent legates to arrange with Louis as to where it would be suitable for him to take up his abode.[2] The archbishops and bishops of France soon gathered round him, and with them on May 17 he solemnly renewed the excommunication of Octavian.[3]

Frederick's efforts to gain Louis.

But while Alexander was thus establishing his position in France, Barbarossa was not idle. Realising that he could not impose his creature on Christendom, he took up a new position. It was clear, he urged, that the claims of both the candidates for the Papacy were doubtful. It would, therefore, be best for the king of France, with Alexander in his company, to meet him and Octavian; and then, if necessary, the combined Churches of Gaul,

[1] Boso, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 404–405. [2] Boso, and epp. 67–69 (April 30).

[3] Ep. 73, May 17. In this letter he asserts that he is honoured by the whole Western Church: "Ab episcopis, regibus et principibus, et universa Occidentali Ecclesia tam per se, quam per alios . . . devotissime veneramur."

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Italy, and Germany could depose both claimants, and elect a new Pope altogether. According to Boso, the emperor devised this scheme because, though troubled in conscience, he was too proud to undo what he had done, and, on the other hand, because he feared the loss of his imperial crown should Alexander gain the day.[1] Whether Frederick had any such apprehension or not, he certainly succeeded, through Manasses, bishop of Orleans, and Henry, count of Champagne, in gaining over Louis to his way of thinking, because, says the papal biographer, the French king was a man "of dove-like simplicity." It seems, moreover, that though Louis had sent envoys to greet Alexander,[2] he afterwards had some misunderstanding with him, and, in a moment of irritation, had regretted his acknowledgment of his claims. There is indeed evidence enough that some trouble had arisen between them.[3] At any rate,

[1] "Verecundabatur enim ab incepto malo desistere, quia præ ceteris antecessoribus suis fortis et potentissimus erat et fere totam Ytaliam sibi jam subjugaverat. Ex alia vero parte dubitabat plurimum ac timebat de ammissione imperialis corone, si Alexander suis temporibus prævaleret." Boso, p. 405. Hence we are assured that on this occasion Frederick did not summon the kings of the West, "auctoritate regali nec dominatu imperiali," though "ad augmentum . . . controversiæ . . . fastigium papatus ipsi Victori attribuebat." *Ann. Camerac.*, an. 1162, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 535.

[2] *Hist. Ludovici*, c. 20. Hugo of Poitiers, *De monast. Vizeliac.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 146.

[3] *Cf. Monast. Vizeliac.*, *ib.*, or ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xii. p. 329 ff.; and *Hist. regum Franc.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, *ib.*, p. 395. Hugh of Poitiers, the historian of Vézelay, without unfortunately going into any detail, simply says that the cause of the alienation of Louis from the Pope was the fact that he did not give to his wishes that assent which he expected: "Legationem cum minus optato Alexander suscepisset." The letters (67–9) already quoted also suggest that some difficulty had arisen. Alexander had intended to send two cardinals as his legates; but, as he ambiguously puts it, when Cardinal Oddo had informed him "de statu terræ illius," he employed two native bishops (one being Henry, archbishop of Rheims) instead. *Cf.* Frederick's letters to Louis, etc., ap. Bouquet, *ib.*, xvi. p. 30 f.

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Alexander completely failed to devise any effective means of preventing the proposed interview between Frederick and Louis. He wrote, it is true, to certain bishops to beg them to use their influence to stop the meeting,[1] and he had an interview with Louis at Souvigny, a priory of Cluny in the diocese of Clermont, near the left bank of the Allier (in August). But when he found that Louis was definitely committed to meet the emperor, Alexander at once made it quite plain to the French king that he would not present himself for judgment before any assembly, though he would willingly send some of his cardinals to explain the validity of his election, and the complete futility of the pretensions of Octavian.[2] With this Louis was fain to be content; and, while he went to Dijon to meet the emperor, Alexander retired to the abbey of Déols, on the Indre, in the diocese of Bourges.

The conference of St. Jean de Losne, 1162.

The conference between the two monarchs was arranged to take place on the bridge of St. Jean de Losne, a little town on the Saone, between Dijon and Dôle in Burgundy (August 29). But it was destined to be a dismal failure. It had never been the Emperor's intention that the assembly should hold an impartial inquiry,[3] and Louis was soon to find that he had been duped by the emperor and those whom he had gained over to his side, Manasses and Count Henry, a relation of the antipope. Louis, indeed, must have realised even before the meeting that he had made a mistake in agreeing to reconsider his position. The report of his vacillation had caused the greatest consternation throughout Italy

[1] Ep. 91 to Hugh of Soissons (July 24). "Eum (Louis) . . . admonere non differas ut . . . ab eo (the meeting) abstineat." *Cf.* ep. 92.

[2] Boso.

[3] In his letters summoning the bishops and counts to the conference, he declares that its object was: "super d. P. Victoris confirmatione finem imponemus." His letter to the archbp. of Lyons, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 690. *Cf.* his next letter, *ib.*, 691.

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and France,[1] and not only the Frangipani, Alexander's supporters in Rome, but even the Senate had written to him to urge him to persevere in his original devotion to the true Pope.[2] His own brother, Henry, archbishop of Rheims, and other bishops had endeavoured to make him understand to what an extent Manasses and the count of Champagne had committed him.[3] What they failed to make known to him was brought home to him by the negotiations at St. Jean. He soon found he had been betrayed.

Barbarossa was now at the height of his power. He had, by the complete destruction of Milan and the dispersion of its people (March 1162), everywhere throughout Lombardy suppressed the popular governments and established his authority.[4] Confident now of the success of his great schemes of universal domination,[5] he left

[1] Boso, p. 406.

[2] See the letters of "the rulers of the Roman fraternity (rectores Romanæ fraternitatis)," and of various consuls of the Romans to Louis thanking him for his acknowledgment of Alexander, and urging him to persevere in it (ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xvi. 32 f.). Oddo and Cencius Frangipane urge him to send envoys to Rome to learn the truth if he has doubts about the validity of Alexander's election. "Verum, siqua (quod absit) dubitationis titillatio per suggestionem et calliditatem alicujus iniqui vestram super ordinationem d. Papæ moverit mentem, prudentiæ vestræ erit prudentes viros . . . ad Urbem dirigere, qui cognitam veritatem vestræ majestati significent, et mendacia Octaviani, qui vos sibi obedire fautoribus suis scripsit, valeant confutare," etc.

[3] See, *e.g.*, the letter of the archbishop to Louis, ap. *ib.*, 30. "Vehementer perturbamur in his quæ significata sunt nobis, Comitem scilicet Henricum . . . securitates ex parte vestra . . . Imperatori dedisse, quod illum Octavianum . . . cum ecclesia Gallicana in Apostolicum debeatis recipere."

[4] "Tota Lombardia ac Tuscia et Romania ad nutum imperatoris fuit inclinata." *Chron. regia Coloniensis*, an. 1162.

[5] "Tunc elevatum est cor ejus nimis, et timuerunt omnia regna terrarum ad famam nominis ejus." Helmold, *Chron. Slav.*, i. 90. The precentor of Sens was justified in writing to Alexander of Fred.: "qui singularem quærit in mundo principatum." Ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, vi. 143, R. S.

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Lombardy after four years of war (1158–1162) and, with Octavian in his train, marched towards Dôle with a powerful army. Pressed by Alexander,[1] Ebehard, the holy bishop of Salzburg, had made a last effort to detach the emperor from Octavian before they left Italy. But, though listened to with respect, he had failed in his purpose,[2] and Frederick crossed the Alps with the firm resolve to bring about the deposition of Alexander, if not the recognition of Octavian.

But with the razing of Milan to the ground Barbarossa had touched the acme of his power. The conference of St Jean marked the beginning of his fall.[3] In the first place, he had difficulties with his creature Octavian. When the antipope found that Alexander had again disdained to submit his claims to any human tribunal, he began to feel keenly his own dependent position, and reproached the emperor with once more wishing to submit his cause to trial.[4] However, the emperor succeeded in inducing him to accompany him to the bridge in the middle of the night,[5] so that he could say that he had fulfilled his part of the contract. He then called upon Louis, in accordance with

[1] Ep. 62 (March 16, 1162) to Ebehard. The Pope says he knows that he has already so acted "ut . . . schismatici durum in te malleum se doleant invenisse," and begs him to try to induce the emperor "ut . . . ad unitatem Catholicæ Ecclesiæ revertatur." *Cf.* ep. 97. In the beginning of 1163 the archbishop was made Alexander's legate "in regno Teutonico." Ep. 131.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Ebehard "ad abbatem Admontensem," ap. W., 517 n. "Eum (Octavian) et suos nec videre nec audire volumus."

[3] According to John of Salisbury (ep. 145, or ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Thos. Becket*, v. 377, R. S.), Frederick acknowledged this himself. "Nam sicut ipsemet conqueritur, ex quo Latonam venit . . . successus ejus relapsi sunt."

[4] Boso. The emperor was not sure of even his own bishops. *Cf.* *Ann. Egmundani*, an. 1162, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. "Plures erant qui Alexandro favebant."

[5] *Hist. Vizeliac.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 147.

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the agreement made by his plenipotentiary, Count Henry, to acknowledge Victor, as he had failed to present Alexander for trial; and, to the astonishment of the king, the said count declared that if the French king did not fulfil his engagement, he was bound to acknowledge Frederick as his suzerain for the future. The scales fell at last from the eyes of Louis. He realised that he had been betrayed by the count of Champagne, and that he was in the power of the emperor, who had come to the conference with a large army.[1] He accordingly pleaded for delay, and weakly offered to yield himself up to the emperor if he did not produce Alexander for trial before the close of the time agreed upon.[2]

But if Louis of France was completely dazed by the turn which events had taken, and by the treachery in the midst of which he found himself, not so was Pope Alexander. Of course he refused to appear before the emperor; but, besides hastily despatching messengers to Henry of England, then in Normandy, he engaged him to march at once to the help of Louis.[3] Disconcerted at the news that Henry had promised armed support to the French king, and feeling the pinch of famine, as his great army had exhausted the supplies of the locality,[4] Frederick found it necessary to order the withdrawal of the bulk of his forces.

However, he left behind to finish the negotiations his chancellor, Reinald of Dassel, the archbishop-elect of Cologne, the chief supporter of the schism. Reinald, as

[1] Boso; contrary to the terms of the agreement, says Helmold, *l.c.*

[2] Boso, pp. 406-7; and Hugh of Poitiers. Luchaire, *Hist. de France*, iii. pt. i. p. 42 (ed. Lavisse), might well say: "On aurait peine à croire, si le fait n'était bien attesté, que Louis VII. ait accepté une pareille proposition."

[3] Boso, and ep. 96, Sept. 17.

[4] Boso says that a small loaf cost a mark of silver.

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was usual with him, at once took a high tone when the French king returned to reopen the conference. It belonged, he said, only to the bishops subject to the Empire to decide on cases connected with the Pope; and hence the French king and his clergy must receive their decision. Other kings, he argued, would resent imperial interference in any episcopal difficulty in their territories, and so they must not think of interfering in the case of the Bishop of Rome. His contention, then, was the old Carolingian one that the Papacy was an imperial bishopric concerning which other sovereigns had no rights; and so sound did he think his point of view that we are assured that he expressed it in Latin, in French, and in German.[1] But Louis, now feeling strong in the alliance of Henry II., simply asked if the bishops of his kingdom also were not of those sheep whom Christ had committed to St. Peter, and then rode away.[2] Frederick himself afterwards followed the same line of argument as his chancellor, and declared that "the kings of the provinces" had not responded to his invitation to come to the conference because, to the detriment of his rights, they themselves wanted to elect the Roman Pontiff.[3]

The kings of France and England meet the Pope, *c.* Sept. 25, 1162.

When the conference came to its abrupt close, the emperor caused his bishops and princes once more to declare Victor "universal Pope, and Alexander and his followers schismatics"; and then, retiring "with his victorious eagles," he took or sent his Pope back to Italy,[4] as even in Germany "no respect was paid"[5] to him.

[1] Saxo Gram., xiv. p. 539.

[2] Boso and Hugh, *ll. cc.* [3] Saxo, *l.c.*

[4] *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1162; Saxo Grammaticus, *l.c.*

[5] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 571. *Cf.* Testa, *The War against the Communes*, p. 297. The authority for the statements of these modern writers is Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 204. "Octavianus aliquantulum in Alamannia demoratus, nec ab Alamannis

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No sooner, on the other hand, had Louis left the bridge of St. Jean than, whilst waiting the arrival of Henry, he began to raise troops and to strengthen the fortifications of the frontier.[1] Meanwhile our king, before joining Louis, whom the Pope had endeavoured to render kindly disposed towards him,[2] visited Alexander at the monastery of Déols on the Indre, "on the opposite bank of the river to the famous stronghold of Châteauroux (Castrum Radulphi)," September 18. After staying three days with the Pope, and giving him a substantial sum of money,[3] Henry proceeded to meet the French king; and at Choisi (Cociacum, near Blois) the kings of England and France, "who always devoutly protect and venerate the Church of Rome," received Alexander on his way to Tours. And they received him, we are told, "with the respect to which he was entitled. Acting as his grooms, the two kings held the bridle-reins of his horse, the one on the right hand, the other on the left, and so conducted him to a tent which had been prepared for him."[4] But the

reverenter exceptus, intravit Italiam, et post hæc Lucam veniens, ibidem mansit." Still, in passing through Germany, he again anathematised Alexander at Trier (Nov. 1). *Cf. Sigebert. Contin. Aquicinctina*, an. 1162, and *Ann. Palidenses*, an. 1162, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., etc.

[1] Boso. [2] Ep. 96, Sept. 17.

[3] Boso. Stephen of Rouen (*Draco Norman.*, iii. 12) asserts that Alexander levied a regular tax on the English and French:

"Omnibus indicit quot libras ipse requirit,
Ut censum referant mittit ubique suos.
Francos, Normannos, Pictavos, Audegavenses,
Anglos, queque jubet ferre tributa facit.
Dedignatur in his Rodomensis (Rouen) maximus Hugo,
Dicit inauditum criminis esse genus."

On the interview see also epp. 144 and 146 among the letters of Peter of Blois. These letters purport to be written by Queen Eleanor to Celestine III., and are printed ap. *P. L.*, t. 206, p. 1262 ff.

[4] Robert de Monte, an. 1162 (Stevenson's trans.). He speaks of Louis and Henry "qui devote semper Romanam eclesiam fovent et venerantur."

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Pope did not bring the kings together merely that they might honour him. Before he left them to proceed to Tours "a firm peace was established between them by his mediation, and by God's favour."[1] As soon as this most desirable end had been accomplished, Alexander moved down the Loire to Tours, and either there or at Paris passed the greater part of the next nine months. Whilst he abode on the pleasant banks of the broad and swift-flowing Loire, he was able to get a taste, at least, of the sweets of peace. The difficulties with Henry of England, in which the struggles of St. Thomas for ecclesiastical liberty were soon to involve him, had not yet arisen.

The council of Tours, 1163.

The one important event in which he took part during these months was the council over which he presided at Tours in the month of May. However, before the council assembled, he went to Paris to have an interview with the French king, no doubt regarding the holding of the said synod. Some miles outside the city he was met by Louis and a host of his nobles. After the French monarch had greeted the Pope in the usual reverent and affectionate manner, the two, surrounded by the clergy of the district and by the nobility, entered Paris in great state.[2] Alexander spent the whole of Lent in the city, and on *Lætare* Sunday (March 3) blessed as usual the Golden Rose,[3] which he sent to Louis, "as he knew of no one so worthy to receive it"[4] as the king of the French. The Rose itself, so he tells the king, represents Christ, "the flower of the field, and the

[1] *Ib.* The author of the *Draco Norman* may well say:

"Expulsus patria, licet exul, presul habetur."

L. iii. c. 12. *Cf.* Romuald, *l.c.*

[2] Boso: "Humiliter deosculatus est pedes ipsius et statim ad oris oscula cum affectione fuit receptus." *Cf.* Romuald, *l.c.*, and Hugh of Poitiers, *Hist. Vizel.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 148.

[3] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 69 ff. [4] Ep. 132.

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lily of the valleys" (Canticles ii. 1); its material, gold, shows forth the King; the red with which it is tinged proclaims the Passion of Christ; and the sweet fragrance that comes from it signifies His glorious resurrection.[1]

On May 19 there assembled at Tours seventeen cardinals, one hundred and twenty-four bishops, four hundred and fourteen abbots,[2] and a very large number of the inferior clergy and of the laity.[3] Among the assembled prelates there were, by the permission of Henry, the archbishops of Canterbury and York and a number of the bishops and abbots of England,[4] though to ensure their presence Alexander had had to agree that their coming should not in any way prejudice the rights of King Henry or of his successors nor introduce any new custom into the kingdom.[5] The fathers of this most influential assembly naturally concerned themselves in the first place with the schism. Octavian, along with Reinald of Dassel, Hugh, abbot of Cluny, and other leaders of the schism were once more declared excommunicated, and the ordinations held by Octavian and other heretics and schismatics were decreed to be null and void.[6] But the council also issued

[1] *Ib.*

[2] According to Romuald, *l.c.*, they came from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Spain, as well as from France. See also Hugh of P., *l.c.* He adds that many of the German bishops wrote to him privately, offering him their obedience "pro loco et tempore, . . . Italiæ vero non minima pars affuit. . . . Sed et Sardinia et Sicilia cum omni Calabria, omnis quoque orientalis ecclesia," etc.

[3] Boso.

[4] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines*, an. 1163, R. S., i. 310. St. Thomas and his suffragans sat on the right of the assembled Fathers, the archbishop of York and his on the left.

[5] See the letter of Alexander, ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 44. This was an effort on the part of Henry to maintain the Norman customs which were so detrimental to the natural liberty of the Church, and which were so soon to be combated by St. Thomas.

[6] Boso, p. 410, and *Chron. Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1162.

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many most useful canons. The clergy, for instance, were forbidden to practise usury in any form, and monks were prohibited from leaving their cloister and devoting themselves to the study of medicine or of law. Again, too, we hear of the secret heresy which was spreading in the district of Toulouse and throughout Gascony. The faithful are forbidden to hold any manner of intercourse with its disciples, and princes are called upon to imprison such as they may discover, and to confiscate their goods.[1]

Alexander resides at Sens, 1163-5.

When this important council had finished its work, the two kings told the Pope that any place he might choose in either of their dominions for his future prolonged residence was at his disposal. He thereupon selected Sens, in the sweet valley of the placid Yonne; because, says Boso, "it was a famous metropolis, convenient for travellers, and situated in a fertile district." Here from October 1163 to Easter 1165 Alexander passed most of his time, awaiting the development of events in Italy.

Troubles in Italy, 1164.

"Through envy of the greatness of Milan" many of the Lombard cities looked on with indifference when Barbarossa was besieging it, and not a few of them hailed its destruction with delight. But they soon found "that with Milan they had all fallen, and that they had all put their necks

[1] These and other canons may be read in Boso, and in William of Newburgh, *Hist.*, ii. 15. Just before this a number of these heretics (whom W. of N. calls "Publicani") had been discovered in England. Though they were Germans, the author of their errors is said to have been some unknown Gascon. They were the same secret heretics we have already encountered (*v. supra*, ix. p. 123 f.), and, like them, rejected not merely the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, but also Matrimony (*conjugium detestantes*). According to W. of N., whose valuable evidence (*ib.*, c. 13) we are quoting, the Germans in question were illiterate, stupid, and uncouth. After they had been convicted of heresy by the bishops at Oxford, they were handed over to the king, and then treated with such severity that the unfortunate creatures perished through the inclemency of the winter weath r.

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Alexander III. giving the Doge a ring for the Marriage of the Adriatic.
From a fifteenth century MS.
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beneath the hard German yoke."[1] The podestàs or governors whom the emperor had set over the various cities oppressed them in the harshest manner,[2] and when in August 1163 Frederick again entered Italy, they received very little satisfaction from him. He accepted the stories of his podestàs, and devoted all his attention to making preparations for subduing the Norman kingdom of the two Sicilies.[3] But before he could march against William he had to reckon with the hostility of Venice, and with the Greeks, whose money had put them in possession of Ancona, and was at the service of all his enemies.[4] Venice he decided to leave alone, for the present at least. In its lagoons it was almost inaccessible, and, if not itself interfered with, would probably remain quiet. He would crush the Greeks first and then the Normans. His designs, however, proved harder of accomplishment than he had imagined. In the beginning of the year 1164, whilst Ancona was yet unsubdued, an organised opposition to him declared itself in a part of Lombardy hitherto tranquil. Four cities of the Veronese March, Treviso, Vicenza, Padua, and Verona itself, formed a league with Venice to resist, if not imperial prerogatives, at least imperial oppression, especially when that came from an emperor who was not in communion with the Church.[5] The nucleus of the Lombard League had sprung into being.

[1] Romuald, *Chron.*, ap. *l.c.*, p. 204.

[2] According to Boso (p. 411), not only were the people plundered of their goods, but "ministeriales (the podestàs) . . . uxores et filias eorum diriperent, et impune abuti non formidarent."

[3] Hence in October 1163 Alexander, interested in Sicily because, among other reasons, "regnum Siciliæ ad jus et proprietatem b. Petri specialiter spectat," wrote to urge Louis to exhort William of Sicily to prepare to defend his kingdom. Ep. 211.

[4] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II. et Manuel I.*, ch. xxi. p. 555 ff. *Cf. supra*, vol. ix. pp. 272, 309, and *infra*, p. 222 ff.

[5] Boso, p. 411; Otto Morena, *Hist.*, p. 1123, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.,

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Death of the antipope Victor, 1164.

Soon after the rising in the Veronese March another severe blow was dealt to the imperial cause. The antipope Victor died at Lucca on April 20. A story was current, says Boso,[1] that whilst on his deathbed Victor cried out for a Catholic priest, but that the schismatics would not allow one to come near him. The English cardinal, however, did not himself believe the report, but says very plainly that Victor "went down to the lower regions impenitent and excommunicated." Fuller details of the death of the antipope were furnished to St. Thomas Becket by one of his agents at the papal court. According to this writer, the unhappy antipope went mad, and for fifteen days[2] before he died was so insane as to know neither God nor himself. After his death, the canons of the cathedral and the regular canons of the Church of St. Frediano,[3] despite all pressure, refused to have the body of the schismatic in their midst, and it had to be taken outside the city, where it was at last buried "by some miserable monks."

The effects of the antipope were taken to the emperor. Overwhelmed with debt,[4] Victor had been living for some

etc. *Cf.* Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 127; and Testa, *The War of Frederick*, p. 306 ff. The last-named writer points out that what specially irritated Frederick in this League was the "oath, whereby they made it a condition of their allegiance that the emperor should be well affected towards the Church; for, involved as he was in schism, it was the same thing as refusing it to him altogether; seeing that since . . . the decrees of the council of Tours . . . very little doubt remained in all Christendom that Alexander was the lawful Pope." P. 308.

[1] P. 410.

[2] The *Ann. Palid.*, an. 1164, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., more accurately say nine days, "novemque diebus agonizans."

[3] On these two interesting Romanesque churches, see Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches*, p. 95 ff.

[4] "Here (sic) alieno gravati," he says himself. Ep. ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 533.

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time on plunder, and had hardly anything to leave but his *capella*[1] and a few horses. When news of the death of Octavian reached Sens, the cardinals were not unnaturally moved to express their satisfaction. But they were severely rebuked by Alexander, who was grieved for the miserable end of his foe. "And with good reason," continues the worthy writer we are quoting, "for the loss of a soul, where crime is not washed away by sorrow, is irreparable. Nor do we know of an instance of an heresiarch or author of a schism ever doing penance except on compulsion, and contrition such as this is of no value in the eyes of God."[2]

The election of Guido of Crema as Paschal III., 1164.

As soon as the death of Victor became known, the arch-chancellor, Reinald of Dassel, hurried to Lucca, and with the aid of the other schismatical cardinal, John of SS. Sylvester and Martin, elected his colleague Guido of Crema as Pope Paschal III. (April 22).[3] Four days afterwards this pontifical sham was consecrated by the bishop of Liège.[4] Word of what had been thus hastily and despotically accomplished was at once sent to the emperor at Pavia. Though Frederick is said to have afterwards upbraided Reinald for forcing his hand,[5] he expressed his approval of what had been done, and his loyal acceptance of Paschal III. as the true Pope.[6]

[1] That is, all his ecclesiastical utensils and paraphernalia.

[2] Ep. S. Thomæ, 370, ed. Giles, or ep. 53, R. S., v. p. 89 ff.

[3] *Chron. Pisan.*, an. 1165, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.; *Chron. reg. Colon.*, an. 1164; Boso, etc.

[4] *Chron. R. C., l.c.*; *Ann. Reichersperg.*, 1164, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.

[5] *Cf.* ep. to Alexander, ap. epp. S. Thomæ, *l.c.*, p. 184, R. S. *Cf.* a similar document, ap. *ib.*, p. 188 ff. "Tibi scripsi," Frederick is reported to have angrily said to Reinald, "ne me inconsulto de substituendi pontificis electione quicquam tractares; tu vero, clam me, auctoritate tua istum elegisti."

[6] Boso, pp. 410–11. See also the false account of the election of Paschal, which Frederick himself sent to Henry, count of Champagne, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 692.

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Frederick has to leave Italy, 1164.

Certain it is that if Barbarossa made his first great political mistake in acknowledging Victor, he made a much greater one in supporting Paschal III. But he had gratified his dislike of the ex-chancellor Rolando, and had made another sensational assertion of his pretensions with regard to his rights over the Church. And that was enough. He was, however, soon to learn that justice will not be flouted even by the most powerful. One misfortune after another was to teach him that he who exalteth himself shall be humbled. To begin with, he was unable to quell the rising in the Veronese March. He had but few Germans with him, and, finding that his Italian allies were becoming so lukewarm in his service that he dared not trust them, he had to retire from the face of the Veronese without risking a battle.[1] There was nothing for it but that he should return to Germany and raise a fresh army.[2] Accordingly, in November (1164) he once more recrossed the Alps, leaving such cities as were still subject to him to the tender mercy of his podestàs and the collectors of his dues.

Misery in Lombardy during the absence of Frederick, Nov. 1164–Nov. 1166.

During the two years that Frederick was on this occasion absent from Italy, Lombardy was so grievously oppressed that loyalty to the Empire was thoroughly undermined. His agents "exacted more than seven times what was the emperor's due, and oppressed bishops, marquises, counts, consuls, and captains of the cities, and, in a word, almost all the Lombards both great and small. This they did because the Lombards, through love or fear of the emperor, were unwilling to defend themselves from their exactions. . . . And although they said among themselves that it was

[1] Boso, *l.c.*

[2] Morena, *Hist.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1125. This was the more necessary because there were troubles of all kinds in Germany itself. *Cf. Contin. Sanblasiana*, cc. 18 and 19.

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better to die than to endure such disgraceful oppression, still they put off taking vengeance for this treatment or even thinking about taking it. . . . This was because they looked forward daily to the return of the emperor, saying that they did not believe that the evil which was wrought by his agents had his sanction, and that when the emperor comes he will put an end to all the trouble."[1]

Among those who suffered especially at the hands of the imperial officials were the personal friends of Alexander; for, by a refinement of cruelty, practised also about this time by Henry II. towards St. Thomas, penalties which could not be inflicted on Alexander himself were inflicted on his relatives, in order that he might be tortured in them. For the liberty of the Church, sighed the Pope (ep. February 26, 1164), we have to endure all things. "We have been brought from affluence to poverty, from leisure to toil, from genial society to solitude, from happiness and joy to the depth of misery; and, to pass over everything else, those who are related to me by blood have been stripped of their all by the emperor, have been driven from their houses, and, forced to leave wife and child, have been sent into exile."[2]

The diet of Würzburg, 1165.

Whilst the Lombards, in the midst of their miseries, were buoying themselves up with hopes destined never to be realised, Frederick was preparing an army which was designed to rivet their chains still tighter, and was endeavouring to force a general recognition of his wretched antipope, Paschal. In accordance with his orders, a great diet assembled at Würzburg (May 23),[3] and he endeavoured

[1] *Ib.*, p. 1125.

[2] Ep. ap. Jaffé, 11,003. *Cf.* ep. of his agent to St. Thomas, ap. *Materials*, v. 59, R. S.

[3] *Chron. reg. Colon.*, an. 1165.

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to obtain from it a spontaneous acknowledgment of his new Pope. But it soon appeared that, if the German bishops had for the most part been ready to receive Victor, concerning the validity of whose election something might perhaps be urged, they were not willing to accept such an obviously uncanonical election as that of Paschal.[1] Even his relative Conrad, the archbishop-elect of Mainz, in returning from a pilgrimage to Compostela, had, probably on hearing of the death of Victor, already acknowledged Alexander (1164),[2] and, as his friend St. Thomas Becket wrote,[3] "had deservedly become great in the eyes of the Pope."

Frederick's hope, however, was in Henry II. The struggle between that "cruel and licentious" monarch and St. Thomas Becket was now at its height,[4] and Henry, finding that he could not by ordinary means force Alexander to abandon the archbishop's cause, thought that he might accomplish his end by adhering to the antipope. Accordingly, when the notorious archbishop-elect of Cologne, Reinald of Dassel, came to him at Westminster in the beginning of 1165 to treat of a marriage between his daughter and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, it is known that the two discussed the question

[1] Reinald of Dassel had already (*c.* June 1164) ignominiously failed at Vienne to induce the bishops of Burgundy to recognise Paschal. *Cf.* ep. of his envoy to St. Thomas, ap. *Materials*, v. 120, R. S. "Quidam autem eorum ipsum Guidonem coram eo excommunicare parati fuerunt."

[2] "Mogontinus electus causa oracionis in Hispaniam profectus in redeundo Rolando, qui et Alexander, se juramento obligavit." *Ann. S. Petri Erphesfurt. maj.*, an. 1164. Holder-Egger, the editor of these annals, quotes in this connection: Böhmer-Will, *Reg. arch. Mogunt.*, ii. p. 6. See also a letter of Cardinal Otho, ap. *Materials*, v. 158.

[3] Ep. 47; *cf.* 48, both of the year 1164, ap. *Materials*, v. p. 81 ff. See also ep. 82 (*ib.*, p. 158 f.) of Cardinal Otho to the saint.

[4] *Vide infra*, p. 174.

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of Henry's acknowledging Paschal. And although our justiciar, Robert, earl of Leicester, would not "greet (*in osculum non recepit*) that archschismatic, and although the altars where his party had said Mass were destroyed,"[1] Reinald was able to boast at the diet of Würzburg that he had won over the English king to the cause of Paschal. At any rate, Henry subsequently wrote to tell Barbarossa's chancellor that he was waiting for an opportunity to break with Alexander, who dared to support "the traitor Thomas" against him, and his ambassadors presented themselves at the assembly of Würzburg, and, in their master's name, declared on oath that he would acknowledge Paschal, and no longer recognise Alexander.[2] This declaration could not have been without its influence on some of the members of the assembly, and on the prestige of Paschal, though Henry himself, finding that his bishops would not follow him,[3] and that he had made

[1] Ralph de D., *Ymagines*, 1165, R. S., i. 318. "Rege morante apud Westmustier." And we know from charters, etc. (Eyton, *Itinerary*, p. 77), that Henry and Robert of Leicester were at Westminster in January 1165. *Cf.* Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expug. Hibern.*, ii. c. 31, ap. R. S., v. p. 374, and the letter of Reinald to Louis, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 120. According to Robert de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1165, Reinald met Henry in Normandy. But there is no reason why the negotiations begun in Westminster should not have been continued in Normandy; the more so that Robert speaks "de conventionibus quæ inter eos *convenerant*."

[2] See Henry's letter, ap. *Materials*, v. p. 428 (it is the letter *Diu desideravi*), and Frederick's letters (1) to the abbot of Stablo (ap. *ib.*, p. 182), and (2) "to all the people ruled by his imperial clemency" (ap. *ib.*, p. 191), and two reports, seemingly of eye-witnesses, to Alexander (*ib.*, p. 184 and p. 188). See also Alexander's letter to the archbishop of Rouen, May 16, 1166, ap. *ib.*, p. 352, and various letters of St. Thomas, ap. *ib.*, 389, 392, 487, vi. 55. *Cf.* also the following note. In face of this, the denial of Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen (*ib.*, p. 194), that Henry's envoys took any such oath, cannot be accepted.

[3] "Cum . . . episcopi (at an assembly in London, supposed to be in 1168) . . . tam detestabile juramentum contra Deum et Alex-

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a mistake, afterwards attributed the initiative in the matter to his envoys themselves.[1] Then, shuffling out of all responsibility in the matter as well as he could, the unscrupulous monarch left his principal envoy, the perjured John of Oxford (*insignis ille jurator*),[2] to clear

andrum P. præstare noluissent, dilatum . . . est tam iniquum et enorme negotium." Gervase, *Chron.*, ap. R. S., i. 207. It will have been observed that we have used the letter *Diu desideravi* as though it belonged to the year 1165, and have spoken of the assembly of the English bishops as though it had taken place soon after the Würzburg assembly. But though the exact date of the letter, like that of most of the letters at this period, is not known, it certainly expressed the sentiments of Henry in May 1165. In discussing the date of this letter some critics do not appear to have noticed that Henry speaks in it of sending envoys to the Pope at *Rome*. Now, about this period of his pontificate, Alexander was in Rome only from *November* 1165 to July 1167. Hence the letter probably belongs "to the summer of 1166, after the appeal of the bishops on June 24." *Materials*, v. 228 n. Similarly with regard to the council. Its exact date is not clear; but if it was not held till 1168, its discussions do but express the feelings certainly entertained by our bishops in 1165. It may, however, be noted that whilst Henry was in and about London for the last three months of the year 1165, he was abroad from March 1166 to March 1170. *Cf.* Eyton, *Itinerary*, pp. 92-135. Hence the assembly was perhaps, as supposed in the text, at the close of 1165.

[1] Ep. of Henry to the cardinals, ap. *ib.*, vi. 78 ff. *Cf.* L'Huillier, *S. Thomas*, i. 402 ff.

[2] Epp. of John of Salisbury (*ib.*, vi. 176 ff.) and others (*ib.*, p. 140 ff.) to the Pope. *Cf.* L'Huillier, *l.c.*, ii. 49. Lest it may be thought that epithets have here been attached to the name of Henry II. without sufficient reflection, we will set forth his character as it is given in the unimpassioned, matter-of-fact pages of the *Annals of England*, i. 243 f., Oxford, 1858. "The character of Henry II., judging from his actions, cannot be drawn in other than unfavourable colours. His contemporaries are almost unanimous in describing him as polished in his manner, though subject to occasional fits of ungovernable rage; faithless to his oath, and even attempting to justify his conduct by remarking that it was better to have to repent of words than of deeds; crafty rather than brave, and cruel in the extreme, when irritated by defeat; licentious in his life, and most unwise in the treatment of his children; and so covetous of empire as to marry a divorced wife for the sake of her patrimony, and to strip his own brother of the few castles which their father had allotted to him. . . . Some improve-

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himself before Alexander by a series of false oaths. We may, therefore, safely go further, and assert that it was the arrival of Reinald and the English envoys that turned the scale, and put an end to all the hopes of a peaceful settlement of the schism which had been raised by the early debates of the Diet.

To move the assembly to conform to his wishes, which were to keep the Church in subjection to himself, Frederick, with his hands on a number of relics, declared on oath that he would never acknowledge Alexander, but that he accepted Paschal "as the universal and Catholic Father." But, as even Reinald of Dassel asserted, "the more influential part (*potior pars*) of the Empire" was in favour of Alexander, and some of the principal bishops began to urge one reason after another why they should not follow the emperor in the oath he had taken. However, by a free use of threats, the emperor secured the adhesion to his oath of most of the assembly, though some of the bishops affixed such clauses to their signatures as to render them valueless.[1]

The diet was scarcely over, ere Conrad, archbishop-elect of Mainz, fled, in order to attach himself to Pope Alexander. Frederick, however, before the close of the

ment in the administration of the law is ascribed to this king, and his constant efforts to curb the power of his nobles must have been beneficial to the rest of his subjects; but these seem very insufficient titles to the praises often lavished on him by (some) writers."

[1] In addition to the authorities already cited, see the Appendix to Rahewin, an. 1166, ed. Waitz, p. 277 f.; *Ann. Ratispon.*, an. 1165, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. They speak of Frederick "episcoporum multitudinem nihil sinistri suspicantem in partes sui apostolici juramento se obligare compulit." Hefele (*Conc.*, vii. 434 ff., Fr. ed.) quotes other authorities in his full account of this diet, *e.g.*, *Ann. Reichersperg.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. Alexander himself, writing to King Louis, told him that, according to the statement made to him by Conrad of Mainz, only three bishops took the emperor's oath absolutely. Ep. 357, June 30, 1165.

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year, replaced him by Count Christian de Buch,[1] a dissolute man, but an able general, soon to be known as Antichrist. Then, in order to show that the decrees of the diet were not to remain a dead letter, he ravaged the diocese of Salzburg with fire and sword, because its archbishop, Conrad, would have none of his antipope.[2]

Alexander back in Rome, Nov. 1165.

No doubt the energetic measures of Frederick caused some revival of interest in the schism in Germany, but any consolation that this may have brought to him was more than counterbalanced by the news that reached him from Italy. There hatred of his rule was growing steadily, and all his Italian enemies were anxious for the return of Alexander to Italy. He alone could serve as the strong hinge on which the opposition to him could safely hang. Even the Romans were longing for his residence in their midst. They were finding out that the absence of the Pope meant the ruin of the city. No longer, for instance, did pilgrims from this country spend of the island's wealth in Rome. The very *schola* of the English, with its church and hospice, was falling to decay.[3]

Besides, a more active papal vicar appeared in Rome in 1164 to replace Julius of Prænestе, who had died there

[1] See the *Annales* and the *Cronica S. Petri Erford.*, an. 1165 *seq.*, and ep. of John of Salisbury, ap. *Materials*, v. 219, an. 1165.

[2] *Ann. Reichersperg.*, an. 1166, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 473. On the efforts of Conrad of Salzburg, Conrad of Mainz, and Hartmann of Brescia "for the faith of Bl. Peter and his vicar," and on the sufferings of Conrad of S., and his successor Albert, for their loyalty to Alexander, see *Vita Gebehardi et success. ejus*, cc. 24–27, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. p. 45 ff. The Appendix to Rahewin, an. 1168, ed. Waitz, p. 278, is not sure whether the burning of Salzburg itself was brought about "hostium patratu an proprio casu."

[3] See a most interesting letter of Cardinal Peter to St. Thomas on behalf of the *Schola Anglorum* with its church "b. Mariæ quæ Sassanorum dicitur." It has become so poor that it can now, he writes, only support a few clerics and one or two laymen to serve the Church and look after the pilgrims. Ep., ap. *Materials, etc.*, v. 64, an. 1162–3 (?).

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apparently in the April of that year. This was John, the cardinal of SS. John and Paul. Aided by money and address, he caused the mass of the Roman people to take the customary oath of allegiance to Alexander before the close of the year (1164); to choose a senate according to his liking; and to recover from the schismatics the basilica of St. Peter, and the county of Sabina.[1] At the same time negotiations to promote a general defensive league throughout Lombardy were being actively pushed forward.

Accordingly, the Romans sent envoys to Sens to beg the Pope to return to Rome, inasmuch as the headship of the Church (*principatum et regimen ecclesiæ*) had been fixed by God Himself in the Eternal City. By hearkening to their request, he would be consulting "the best interests not only of the Roman people but of all the churches and peoples of Italy, who, from his return to Rome and his reoccupying (*sessione*) the chair of Peter, looked, under God, for peace for themselves and for tranquillity for the whole world" (1165).[2] At the same time they promised to receive him with "honour and devotion."[3]

Alexander resolved to accept their invitation, and forthwith began to treat with different Italian states for ships, and to move slowly south towards Montpellier.[4] Arrived there, and knowing the constant efforts that Frederick was making to debauch the loyalty of Louis to him, he did not fail before his departure to exhort that monarch to fidelity to the Roman Church.[5]

[1] Ep. of his agent to St. Thomas, ap. *Materials*, v. p. 120, and especially Boso, p. 412: "Populus R. senatum juxta arbitrium ejus . . . constituit."

[2] Boso, *l.c.*

[3] Romuald, *Chron.*, p. 205. *Cf. Chron. Sigeberti Contin. Aquicinct.*, an. 1165, "A Romanis contra Fred. imp. invitatus."

[4] Ep. of Card. Otho, ap. *Materials*, v. 158, and Boso, *l.c.*

[5] Ep. 369, Aug. 19, 1165. "Nec te F., dicti imperatoris, mandata ulla ratione commoveant."

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Meanwhile, as soon as Frederick heard of the Pope's intention to return to Italy, he strained every nerve to frustrate it. He is said to have tried to bribe the governor of Montpellier to betray the Pope,[1] and it seems certain that he employed pirates or privateers to seize the papal galleys on the high seas.[2] At length, however, after many alarms, Alexander was able to set sail from Maguelonne (October 1165), and to reach Messina in safety (November).[3]

In Sicily he received a royal welcome. The king (William I.) ordered him to be treated as his father and lord, "from whom he held Sicily and all his territories," and to be furnished with money and ships. With these latter, and accompanied by a number of the Sicilian magnates, he set sail for the mouth of the Tiber, which he reached on the feast of St. Cecily (November 22).[4]

The antipope is established at Viterbo.

In the meantime Frederick had on land also essayed to make it impossible for Alexander to reach Rome. After the diet of Würzburg, he despatched his trusted Christian de Buch with his antipope into Italy. That energetic general pushed rapidly south, established Paschal at Viterbo, and ravaged the country round Rome and all Campania except Anagni.[5] And whilst the anti-archbishop was reducing the Romans to such straits that they were glad to buy a temporary truce,[6] the antipope lived, like his predecessor, by plundering all the pilgrims and

[1] William of Newburgh, *Hist.*, ii. 17.

[2] Robertus de Monte, *Chron.*, 1165, and John of Salisbury, ep. to St. Thomas, ap. *Materials*, v. 218.

[3] Boso, *ib.*; Ep. Alex., 373.

[4] Boso, p. 412 f.

[5] *Ann. Pisani*, and *Ceccan.*, both ad an. 1165.

[6] Through him "Romanis nihil relictum sit, nec in agris, nec in olivetis, aut vineis, extra mœnia urbis." Ep. 140 of John of Salisbury, or ap. *Materials*, v. 219.

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merchants he could capture.[1] But at length the victorious career of Christian was checked. A Sicilian army appeared in Campania, and, in conjunction with the Romans, forced the German back into Tuscany.[2]

Alexander's reception in Rome, 1165.

It was at this juncture that Alexander disembarked at Ostia, and on the following day advanced towards Rome. At some distance from the city he was met by the senators, "by the nobles and by a great multitude of the clergy and people." With olive branches in their hands they escorted him to the Lateran Gate, where he was met by an organised procession. There were the clergy in their festal vestments, the Jews bearing as usual a copy of the Law, the standard-bearers of the different regions, and all the functionaries of the city. With songs of praise they led Alexander to the Lateran palace, giving him such a welcome as no Pope had received for years.[3]

[1] *Sigebert. Contin. Aquicinct.*, an. 1165. "Peregrinos seu mercatores de terra Francorum per Italium transeuntes (Wido, *i.e.*, Paschal) turbat et depredatur."

[2] *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1165.

[3] Boso, p. 413. *Cf.* ep. Alex. 375, November 24; and Jaffé, II, 242. The famous Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Rome in the days of Alexander, says: "Rome is the head of the kingdoms of Christendom, and contains about 200 Jews, who occupy an honourable position, and pay no tribute, and amongst them are officials of the Pope Alexander, the spiritual head of all Christendom. Great scholars reside here . . . (*e.g.*) Rabbi Jechiel, an official of the Pope . . . (who) has the entry of the Pope's palace, for he is the steward of his house, and of all that he has." *The Itinerary of Benj.*, pp. 5, 6, ed. Adler, London, 1907.

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CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDER IN ROME. BARBAROSSA IN ITALY. FLIGHT OF ALEXANDER. DEFEAT OF FREDERICK AT THE BATTLE OF LEGNANO (1176), AND THE PEACE OF VENICE BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE LOMBARD LEAGUE AND FREDERICK (1177). RETURN OF ALEXANDER TO ROME, 1166–1178.

Various events in the main unfavourable to Frederick, 1166.

ALEXANDER had not long been back in Rome ere he was distressed by the news that William I., called The Bad, had died (May 7, 1166). Though local difficulties had prevented him from being of much assistance to Alexander till towards the very end of his life, he had always been ready to afford him what help he could. And even at the point of death he did not forget his needs, for he gave forty thousand marks (or denarii?) to Cardinal John of Naples for the Pope's use, and his son and successor in Sicily (William II.) sent as much for the same purpose.[1]

The money must have been most useful to the Pope; for with the "cremated (of Crema)"[2] Guido at Viterbo blocking access to Rome from the North, and with the

[1] Ep. John of Salisbury, 145, *c.* June 1166 ("XL millia florinorum"), ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, or ap. *Materials*, v. 385, which has *sterlinorum* for florinorum. No doubt the former is the correct reading, as florins do not appear to have been struck till the thirteenth century. The unit at this time was the mark sterling of silver, which was equivalent to 13 solidi and 4 denarii or to 160 denarii; and the 40,000 marks would be equivalent, in round numbers, to £250,000. This, however, is an enormous sum of money. Hence perhaps we should understand "denariorum" (this reading would give us £1500), or, possibly, pounds.

[2] So is he often facetiously designated by the partisans of Alexander; *e.g.*, Boso, p. 413.

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general anarchy in the Patrimony brought about by the schism, money remained as scarce as it was necessary. At the beginning of the year Alexander was in sore need of it. In a letter to his firm friend Henry, archbishop of Rheims, he says that the interest he has to pay swallows up all the alms that are sent to him, and deprives him of the necessaries of life. He begs him to procure for him "a hundred marks of silver" from the one through whom the archbishop had already presented him with "a hundred and fifty pounds." He also asks him to raise money for him from the clergy of his diocese, for "our debts are so heavy, and the importunity of our creditors so great, that unless we are helped by your liberality we shall not be able to maintain the city in its present tranquillity."[1]

The gold of Sicily enabled Alexander not only to keep peace within the city itself, but also to render his position safer by the capture of Albano; for both our king and the emperor, relying on the lying vaticinations of certain German prophetesses, hoped to seize the person of the Pope and then to wring from him what they desired.[2]

Before this capture, the Veronese league had also been successful in seizing places that were in the hands of Frederick's supporters, and in strongly fortifying the defile of Chiusa,[3] by which he usually entered Italy.

But though one pass was closed to Frederick, still, urged on, so it was said, by Reinald, he once more entered Italy with a powerful army, resolved "to set the heresiarch of

Frederick again descends into Italy, Nov. 1166.

[1] Ep. 383. "Rogamus . . . ab eo cujus nomine . . . nobis centum quinquaginta libras . . . obtulisti, centum nobis marcas argenti . . . cum honestate tamen nostra acquiras." January 18, 1166. One hundred marks of silver were equivalent to about 12,000 solidi, of which there were 20 to the pound.

[2] John of S., ep. ap. *Mat.*, vi. p. 3. "Rex (Henry II.) in imperatore confidit, et in captione d. Papæ, quam ei vaticinantur prophetæ Baal."

[3] Boso, p. 413.

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Crema in the seat of Peter, and to seize, or expel or slay the Vicar of Christ."[1] His hosts poured into the territory of Brescia by the Camonica, down which runs the Oglio to empty itself into the beautiful lake of Iseo.[2]

At first the emperor seems to have behaved with moderation, and to have listened with sympathy to the complaints brought before him about the rapacity and cruelty of his podestàs; but he soon exasperated the Lombards by making not the slightest effort to redress any of their grievances.[3]

Frederick divides his forces and takes the field, 1167.

So far, indeed, was Barbarossa from taking any steps to remedy the excesses complained of, that in the early part of the new year he proceeded to aggravate them. Dividing his army into two parts, he sent one division under Christian, the archbishop of Mainz, to Rome. This truculent prelate was to expel Alexander, and to enthrone the antipope Paschal. He himself, with the other division, marched into the Romagna. There he spent some months engaged in wringing money from its cities, and finally in laying siege to Ancona,[4] which was still in the hands of the Greek emperor Manuel, who was constantly endeavouring to form alliances with the Pope and the French king against him.

A fresh Lombard League, Apr. 1167. The rebuilding of Milan.

But the limit of human endurance had now been reached by many of the Lombards whom he had left in his rear, especially by the exiled Milanese, who had been made to suffer cruelly for their former resistance. In the Bene-

[1] John of S., ap. 189, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199.

[2] Boso, and Morena, p. 1131; and *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul), p. 1190, both ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.

[3] Morena, *l.c.* "Sed tamen in fine querimonias Longobardorum quasi vilipendens . . . nihil inde fecit."

[4] Boso, p. 414, who adds that the cities of the Romagna were then forcibly withdrawn from their subjection to the Pope. "Civitates (in the neighburhood of Ancona) . . . a consueta b. Petri fidelitate atque dominio separate."

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dictine monastery of St. James of Pontidas, in the diocese of Bergamo, there met together in the early April of 1167 a number of deputies from the Milanese and from the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, and Ferrara. Encouraged by envoys from the Veronese League, they resolved to rebuild Milan, and, "saving the loyalty they owed to the emperor," to stand by one another, and rather to die than bear any further oppression from Frederick or his creatures.[1] The rebuilding of Milan was commenced forthwith, and on April 28, 1167, the exiles returned to their city.[2]

The Pope declares Frederick deposed.

The Lombard cities were perhaps emboldend to take these strong steps because they had heard that Alexander had just absolved them from their allegiance to Frederick, whom he had declared deposed from his imperial rank (*c.* March). It is true that John of Salisbury is the only author who tells us of this drastic measure; but, as he henceforth always speaks of Frederick as "ex-augustus," and as he is one of the best-informed writers of his age, there does not seem to be any reason to call his assertion in question.[3]

[1] Boso, *ib.*; *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul), p. 1191. "Cum audivisset (one of Frederick's governors) quod illi de Marchia (of Verona) cum quibusdam civitatibus Longobardiæ jurassent," etc. *Cf.* Boso, *l.c.* The following inscription relative to this meeting, on four pieces of black marble, was found near the monastery in the last quarter of the last century: "Federatio Longobarda Pontide | Die VII Aprilis MCLXVII | Sub ausp. Alexandri III. P. M. | Monaci posuere |." The authenticity of the inscription has been called in question, but seemingly on insufficient grounds. *Cf.* Balan, *Storia d'Italia*, iii. 358.

[2] Morena, p. 1135; *Liber tristicie*, *l.c.*; *Vita S. Galdini* (the archbishop of Milan at this time), n. 5, ap. *Acta SS.*, April 18, ii. p. 594; Boso, p. 414.

[3] "Vicarius Petri, a Domino constitutus super gentes et regna, Italos et omnes qui ei ex causa imperii et regni religione jusjurandi tenebantur astricti a fidelitate ejus absolvit. . . . Abstulit ei etiam regiam dignitatem, ipsumque anathemate condemnavit." Ep. ap. *Materials*, vi. 298, or ep. 218. He goes on to say that the Pope's sentence soon took effect, and "the Lord appeared to have confirmed it

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Advance of the imperialists on Rome.

Whilst Frederick was spending his time ingloriously in the Romagna,[1] the warlike archbishops, Reinald of Cologne and Christian of Mainz, compelled the Pisans to swear to acknowledge the antipope Paschal and to co-operate with them by means of their fleet. After that Christian set out to join the emperor at Ancona, and Reinald, advancing through Tuscany, captured Civita Vecchia (May), and then marched into Tusculum (May).[2]

(Negotiations with Constantinople.)

At this juncture, when Alexander could descry Frederick's forces from the walls of Rome, and when the troops or allies of the Byzantine emperor on the walls of Ancona were being made to feel Barbarossa's missiles, Manuel resumed with energy the negotiations he had been carrying on with Louis of France and with Alexander when he was in France.[3] The envoy chosen by Manuel was Jordan, the son of Robert, once Prince of Capua. After he had offered the Pope a number of splendid presents, he declared in the first place that his imperial master was most desirous of effecting a union between the Greek Church and the Roman Church, "the mother of all the churches," in order that, as of old, the Greeks and Latins might live "under one observance of the divine law and under one Church Head." In the next place, "because the

as proceeding from the privilege he had bestowed on St. Peter. For at this news the Italians, leaving his allegiance, rebuilt Milan, expelled the schismatics, brought back the Catholic bishops, and unanimously adhered to the Holy See."

[1] "Nichil dignum memoriæ peragens." *Ann. S. Disibodi*, an. 1165, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.; Boso, *ib.*

[2] Marango, *Ann. Pisani*, an. 1167, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

[3] Epp. Alex., 184, 197, 200, and 212; letters of various Latins to Manuel or Louis of France, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. pp. 55–6; letter of Manuel to Louis, *ib.*, p. 82. Hence in his report to his imperial master (Dec. 1161), the notary Burchard writes: "Rolandus (Alex. III.) scripsit C'tano, promittens ei vanitates vanitatum, quas ipse non attendit." Sudendorf, *Registrum*, ii. 138, Berlin, 1851, ap. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, p. 92 n.

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time seemed fitting," he begged that the crown of the Roman Empire should be given back to Manuel by the Apostolic See, "since it did not belong to the German Frederick, but to his master." If Alexander would agree to make this restoration, the Byzantine monarch undertook to furnish such supplies of men and money as would avail not merely to secure him the crown, but to subject not only Rome, but all Italy "to the service of the Church." The proposition with regard to the union of the churches was received with the greatest satisfaction; but, even though Alexander knew at the moment that Frederick was undermining with gold the loyalty of his people,[1] he did not see his way to undo the work of his predecessors, and to transfer the seat of empire to the East. With a view, however, to keeping up the negotiations with regard to the union of the churches, he sent envoys to Constantinople.[2]

Great defeat of the Romans by the imperialists, 1167.

Now that, as we have seen, the people of Tusculum had received within their walls the small German force of Reinald, the Romans thought that they had a sound excuse for gratifying their old jealousy against their rival. Since the republican idea had taken possession of them, they had been consumed with a desire of going forth to conquer as did the Romans of old. It was in vain that Alexander implored them to live at peace with their neighbours, so that they might be the better able to resist the master foe. It was in vain that he offered them as much money as the Church could afford if they would act thus, and strive to attach the adjoining towns to them by peaceful methods.[3] For once their desire for glory and revenge was stronger than their greed. Accordingly,

[1] Boso, p. 414. "Non defuerunt multi qui suscepta pecunia Guidoni . . . atque imperatori . . . fidelitatem jurare presumerent."

[2] Boso, p. 415, is the authority for this paragraph.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 414. "Obtulit (Alexander) eidem populo Ecclesie pecuniam expendendam in ipso facto, secundum Ecclesie facultatem."

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despite the prohibition of the Pope, they declared war on the Tusculans, both because they were harbouring the Germans,[1] and because they would not pay the excessive tribute demanded of them by the Romans. On one bright morning in May, with hearts as blithe as the larks which sang over their heads, the Romans poured out of the Porta Latina and swarmed across the rolling Campagna, now gay with flowers and "white to harvest" (*cum messes albescunt*). From their heights the anxious Tusculans, with their Count, Rainone, could see that their enemies were to be counted by the tens of thousands, and that they were destroying everything as they marched along. In alarm they sent off a hasty message to Frederick, who was still before Ancona, imploring immediate help. The emperor at once despatched to Tusculum a select body of troopers,[2] who, about three o'clock on Whit Monday afternoon (May 29), were able without difficulty to effect a junction with Rainone—so carelessly were the Romans conducting the siege of the city. However, they made up for this want of military discipline and science by immediately attacking the exhausted Germans. But almost at the first charge of Barbarossa's veterans the Romans broke and fled. All across the Campagna, through what the peasantry still call "la valle dei morte,"[3] and through the

[1] And yet, in swearing fealty to Hadrian IV., Jonathan of Tusculum "offered to help him against all men, *except against the emperor*." See the document ap. Jaffé, sub 10,081 (6890). *Cf. Chron. reg. Colon.*, 1167. "Illi enim adhuc imperatori fideles erant" (*i.e.*, the people of Tusculum).

[2] These consisted of the vassals of the archbishopric of Mainz, and a number of *Brabançons*, mercenaries of whom we now begin to read plenty in the Chronicles of the time. Christian himself led these picked men.

[3] It is the valley that "leads from the villa of Q. Voconius Pollis (at a place called Il Sassone) to Marino." Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 178, and *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, p. 55, London, 1909.

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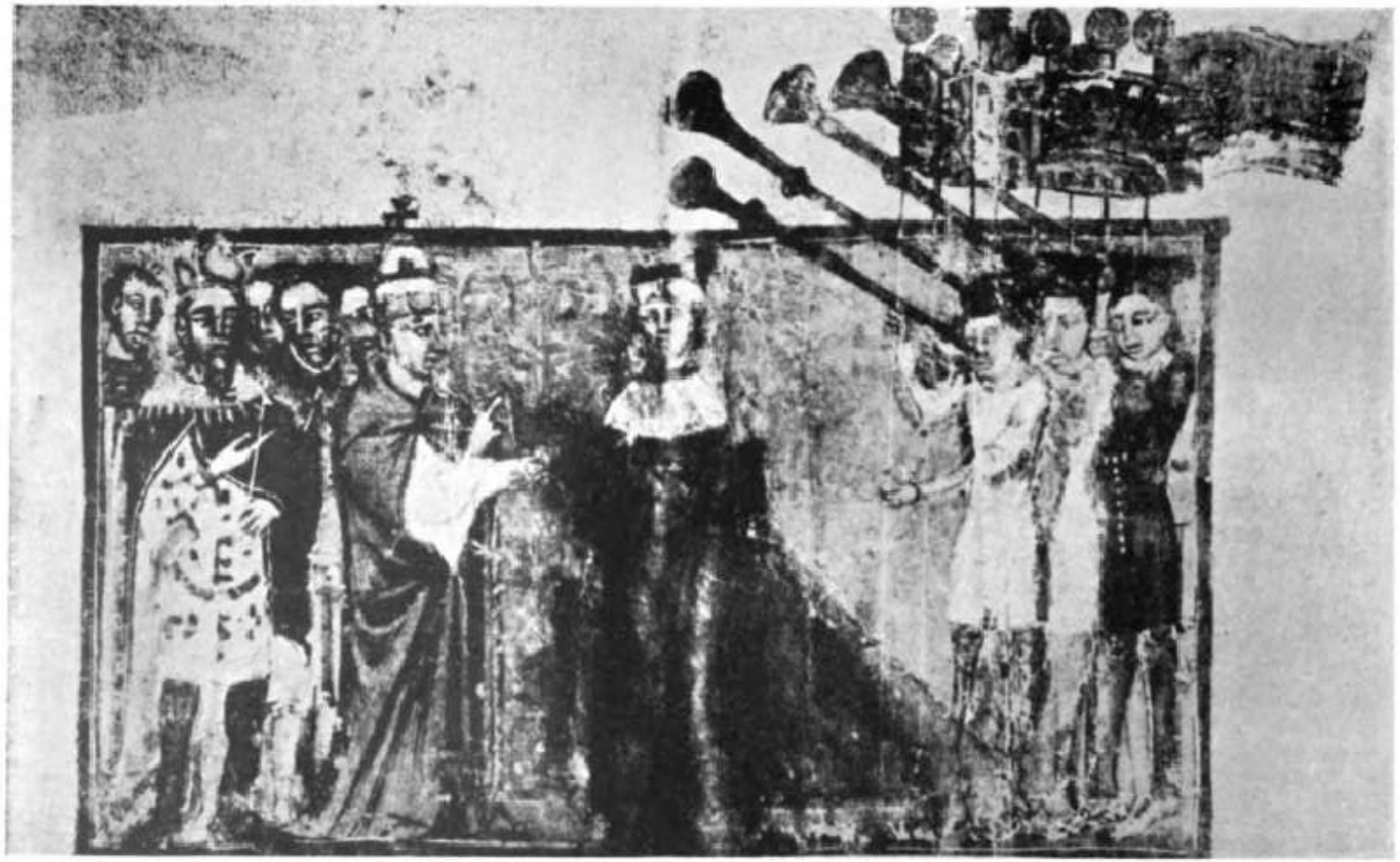

The Emperor Frederick I., Alexander III., and the Doge of Venice entering Rome.
(From a fifteenth century MS.)
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gullies that intersect the Campagna, did the Germans pursue the flying Romans, and the slaughter of the fugitives continued till the shades of night or the walls of Rome shielded the remnant of them from the German swords.

According to a letter of Reinald, which furnishes many details of this famous fight, the Romans, in addition to the loss of all their accoutrements, out of 30,000 men lost over 9000 killed and more than 5000 prisoners. Boso, in more general terms, says that scarce a third of the Romans escaped, and that, since the day when Hannibal overthrew the hosts of Rome at Cannæ, so many of its inhabitants had never perished in a single battle.[1] A later chronicler gives us a sequel to this battle, more picturesque, it is to be feared, than accurate. Giovanni Villani (†1348)[2] says that the defeat was brought about by the treachery of the Colonnas, "who were always with the emperor and against the Church," and that in consequence the Romans expelled them from the city, and destroyed an ancient castle which belonged to them, and which was called "l' Agosta," *i.e.*, the Mausoleum of Augustus, in the north of the Campus Martius.

Frederick before Rome, 1167.

Both Alexander and Frederick were quick to grasp the significance of this severe defeat of the Romans. The Pope, though deeply moved by the general grief, began at once to take measures for the effective guarding of the city, for the repair of the weaker portions of its walls, and for obtaining help from without.[3] Frederick, on his part,

[1] Boso, p. 415. The *Contin. Sanblasiana*, c. 20, an. 1166, and Morena give most spirited accounts of this engagement. The numbers they give agree with those of Reinald; but other authorities, the Italian ones especially, give much smaller figures. *Cf.* Watterich, ii. p. 561 ff., for the letter of Reinald and the other authorities.

[2] *Hist. Fiorentine*, v. 1, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xii. "I quali tennono sempre con lo Imperatore contra la Chiesa."

[3] Boso, p. 416.

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thinking the opportunity a favourable one to seize Rome, and to install his antipope in St. Peter's, as he had often promised,[1] hastened to come to terms with Ancona, which he could not capture. Thence he made a forced march to the West, and appeared before the city towards the end of July. Encamping on Monte Malo, he found already engaged in besieging Rome, not merely his own Germans, but the men of Tivoli, Albano, and other cities of the Campagna, all anxious to avenge themselves on the Romans. The emperor began his assault on the city by a fierce attack on the gates of the Leonine city opposite his camp.[2] When these were carried, he attempted to storm St. Peter's. Time after time, however, were his soldiers driven back until, in desperation, he ordered fire to be set to the oratory of S. Maria in Turri, which formed part of the quadriporticus which surrounded the atrium of the basilica.[3] When this little church had been burnt along with its gates of bronze (on which in letters of silver might have been read the names of the cities given by Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian [4]), and along with its pictures of our Lord[5] and St. Peter elaborately decorated with pure gold —then the gallant defenders of the basilica surrendered. They were afraid that, if they held out any longer, the whole of St. Peter's would be burnt to the ground.

[1] Morena, *Hist.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1149.

[2] See the plan of Rome at the beginning of vol. iv.

[3] Morena, *l.c.*, p. 1151, calls it "De Laborario," and says of it: "quæ sita fuerat supra scalas St. Petri, ante atrium ipsius ecclesiæ S. Petri." Hadrian I. erected it into a deaconry. *Cf. supra*, iv. 387.

[4] So says that canon of St. Peter's (Peter Mallius) who dedicated his work on his basilica to Alexander himself. He adds that, with his brother canons, he had often read the names Perugia, Fesulæ, etc. See his work, ap. *Acta SS.*, June, vii. p. 54.

[5] Morena, *l.c.* "Cujus similis in Italia nunquam fuit amplius visa." On this storming and capture of the Leonine city, see Morena, Boso, and the *Contin. Sanblasiana*, c. 20.

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The capitulation took place on July 29. The next day the antipope said Mass in St. Peter's, and crowned Frederick with the golden circlet of the Patricius (*circulum aureum*); and two days afterwards (August 1), he placed the imperial crowns both on the emperor and on the Empress Beatrice.[1]

Flight of the Pope.

Alarmed at this success of Frederick, Alexander retired "to the safe quarters" of the Frangipani, and with his suite occupied "S. Maria Nova, the turris Cartularia (once part of the palace of John VII.) and the Colosseum."[2] Fortunately for him, the king of Sicily, hearing of his peril, at once despatched two swift galleys to Rome with a considerable sum of money. The money Alexander took gladly, but he would not accept the king's offer to go on board the galleys, and sail for his dominions. On the contrary, he sent back the ships with his thanks, while with the money he confirmed in their loyalty the Frangipani, the Pierleoni, the Corsi, and the keepers of the gates.[3]

Thus again baulked of his expected prey, the emperor sent a hurried message to Pisa to send eight galleys to his help with all speed, and soon the Romans were horrified at seeing an armed Pisan galley, with colours flying, anchor off the Marmorata.[4] This apparition proved too much for the loyalty and courage of the Romans. They began to listen to Frederick's suggestion to depose both Guido and Alexander, and to elect a new Pope, and to treat of terms

[1] Morena, *l.c.*, and *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1167.

[2] Boso, p. 416. [3] Boso, p. 417.

[4] Marango, *Ann. Pisani*, an. 1167, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. Marango, who had come to Rome from Pisa three years before this on his country's business, brings his useful chronicle to an end in 1175. It was continued to 1269 by Michael de Vico, a canon of Pisa, who wrote in the fourteenth century. The continuation may be read ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. "Una galea usque ad Romeam ripam prope pontem cum vexillis multis erectis applicuit."

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of peace. They were to be loyal to Frederick, not to choose a senate without his consent, to wage war on Oddo Frangipane and his associates, and on his side the emperor was not to interfere with their civic privileges.[1]

Realising what would be the issue of these negotiations, Alexander, disguised as a pilgrim, and accompanied by only one or two attendants, contrived to escape from the city by boat under the very eyes of the Pisan sailors.[2] It would appear that the fugitives first put ashore at the promontory of Circe; for Boso depicts the Pope as "vanishing" from Rome, and then three days later as appearing at a fountain at the foot of Monte Circe (Circello) having a meal with his companions.[3] But the Pope did not remain long at Circe. He pushed rapidly on, escorted by the clergy of the district, "to the patrimony of Benevento," where the cardinals made haste to join him as soon as they could. In electing to retire to his own city of Benevento near the Norman territory rather than to a city actually within the dominions of William II., Alexander was consulting his independence more than his safety. His residence in France had taught him the difficulties engendered by complete dependence on a powerful benefactor.

Frederick's army is annihilated by a plague, Aug. 1167.

Frederick was now triumphant. He entered Rome at the head of his exulting troops. Fifty senators were

[1] *Ib.*, and *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1167. The Romans had to subdue "Fricapanes et illos de Leo et quamplures alii Romæ Nobiles, qui maximas turres ac domos et fortitudines in Roma habebant, nec leviter capi . . . poterant." Morena, p. 1153. One of those afterwards commissioned by the emperor to receive the oaths of submission from the Romans was this very Acerbus Morena whom we are quoting, and who, in this same passage, does not allow any mock modesty to prevent him from telling us at length what a splendid God-fearing man he was. But perhaps this eulogy came from the pen of the anonymous writer who continued his work after his death from the plague which smote Frederick's army (†1167).

[2] Romuald of Salerno, and *Ann. Ceccan.*, ad an. 1167.

[3] The fountain, he adds, was thenceforth known as the Fons Papalis.

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appointed in accordance with his will,[1] and his antipope was installed in the Lateran palace.[2] Rome was in his hands, north Italy was at his feet, and where north Italy was he would soon place south Italy. But the city bells that rang out joyously to celebrate his glory abruptly changed their tone, and solemnly began to toll forth his doom. He had been crowned on August the first. On the second, heavy showers of rain were followed by a sultry heat. On the third a virulent form of malaria struck the German army with appalling suddenness and violence. For three days Frederick faced the fiery fever whilst his men fell around him by thousands. Then in despair he fled; but the raging fever followed him, and his mighty host was reduced to dust and ashes.

Suddenly, says Morena, who was in Rome at the time, from out a clear sky rain began to fall,[3] and as the rain fell a most awful plague arose. It smote the imperial army from the highest to the lowest. Among its early victims were Reinald of Dassel, the godless archbishop of Cologne[4] (†August 14), the mainstay of the schism, Daniel, the bishop of Prague, in whose train was the historian Vincent, Frederick, duke of Suabia, the son of Conrad III., and a host of other notables. Barbarossa, "like a tower wrapped in flames," hurried north with the hostages he had received from the Romans, losing from twenty to twenty-five thousand men; and though, says

[1] Marango, *l.c.*

[2] *Chron. regia Colon.*, 1167. It is perhaps more probable that only Frederick's envoys entered Rome proper, and that neither he nor his Pope got beyond the Leonine city.

[3] *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1167. The rain which then fell was known by the peculiar name of "Bazobo." *Cf. Chron. Placent. Ghib.*, ap. H. Bréholles, p. 126.

[4] For John of Salisbury's opinion of Reinald, see ep. 189, or ap. *Materials*, vi. 426.

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John of Salisbury,[1] "the stench from the corpses of his soldiers ever arose in his nostrils, he would not as yet acknowledge the hand of God and confess his sin."

Misfortunes of Frederick and the definite formation of the Lombard League, 1167.

But if Frederick did not see or believe that the hand of God was heavy upon him, he could not hide from himself that the hands of men were busy against him. As he marched wearily northwards, with his friends, his counsellors, and his soldiers dying around him, some cities were bold enough to refuse him admittance within their walls, and when he reached Pavia he found himself almost surrounded with enemies.[2] Everywhere the Lombard cities threw off any pretence of dependence upon him; they expelled his schismatical bishops, introduced such as were in communion with Alexander,[3] and joined the League already in existence. In impotent rage, Frederick convened such a diet as he could, and, casting down his glove before the assembly, declared all the Lombard

[1] Ep. 226, or ap. *Materials*, vi. 236. *Cf.* ep. 225, or ap. *Mat.*, *ib.*, p. 235; ep. 233, 234, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, or *Mat.*, *ib.*, 237, 239. John in his letters is never tired of drawing moral lessons from this humiliation of Frederick. *Cf.* Robert de Monte, an. 1167; Boso, p. 418; and St. Thomas, ep. to Alexander, ap. *Mat.*, vi. 227. "Fredericum ignominiose humiliatum." Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, n. 27 ff., has a long wail on this terrible plague.

[2] He was at Pavia from September 1167 to March 1168. Morena, *l.c.*, pp. 1155–9.

> "Nunc gravis imperio gens Itala prelia gestat
> Cesaris infesta cessavit ubique potestas;
> Fisci pompa ruit; consul ubique fuit."
>
> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta*, c. 31.

[3] "Urbes Italiæ, ejectis coram Frederico schismaticis, catholicos episcopos receperunt." John of Salisbury, ep. ap. *Materials*, vi. 238 (or ep. 233). *Cf.* the same author, ap. *ib.*, p. 241: "Fredericum intra Papiam clausimus et tenemus obsessum," etc. Among the Catholic bishops thus restored was St. Galdinus, who returned to Milan (September 5). See his *Life*, ap. *Acta SS.*, April, ii. p. 594, n. 6; and *Liber tristicie*, p. 1191. As papal legate he is supposed to have had much to do with the formation of the League.

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cities who were opposed to him under the ban of the Empire (September 20), and even made a vain attempt to take the field against the Milanese.[1]

Not in the least daunted by being placed under the ban, fifteen of the principal cities of Lombardy formed a definite league for twenty years to stand by each other and to resist all attempts to make them submit to any conditions not required of them by previous emperors (December 1, 1167).[2] The sword was now finally tempered which was to cut down the ambition of Barbarossa.

Flight of the emperor from Italy, 1168.

When the winter of 1167–1168 had passed, and spring came, the Lombard League began to put its forces in the field, and soon there were no less than twenty thousand men under arms.[3] Frederick's position was desperate; the more so that his cruelty had even irritated the people of Pavia, and that many of the passes of the Alps were in the hands of his enemies. Whilst, however, he was carrying on negotiations with a view to crossing the Alps by Susa, he made a show of treating with the Pope about a reconciliation. When this became known, the Lombards ceased to press him; but no sooner did he learn that an Alpine pass was open to him, than, saying that he would only treat with an angel from heaven, he hurried secretly north, and at length, in the disguise of a servant, the mighty

[1] Morena, *l.c.*, p. 1155.

[2] See the oath (*Societatis Lombardiæ juramentum primum*), ap. Watterich, ii. 573. The cities named in the formula of the oath are Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Modena, and Bologna. The league is thus described by Robert de Monte: "With the exception of Pavia and Vercelli, the cities of Lombardy, twenty-five in number, . . . revolted from the Emperor." Ad an. 1167.

[3] For the flight of Frederick the best authority is John of Salisbury's letter to Bartholomew of Exeter, ap. *Mat.*, vi. 401 ff., or ep. 244. *Cf.* Boso, p. 418.

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Augustus managed to cross the Alps into Burgundy (March). Thence he betook himself into Germany, to find it in a great state of disorder and hostile to himself.[1]

Building of Alessandria, May 1.

No sooner did the Lombards find that he had left Italy, than they took vengeance on those who had helped him, made preparations to besiege Pavia, and tried to induce Alexander to come among them, and thus encourage them by his presence.[2] Meanwhile, to show how much he was the centre of their hopes,[3] they resolved to build a strong city of strategic importance between Pavia and Asti, and to call it Alessandria after his name. It was to be placed near a district where the imperialists were still strong, where a check could be put on the Marquis of Montferrat, one of the last of the independent feudal barons, and where it would serve as a bulwark against a German army entering Italy by the valleys of Savoy, and guard the road leading to Genoa and the sea. Accordingly, they chose as the site for their new city the neighbourhood of the castle of Rovereto, situated in the midst of a fertile locality, at the junction of the two rivers Tanaro and Bormida. The building of the new city was begun in May, and, in fear of an attack from the people of Pavia, many of its houses were hastily roofed over with thatch, which caused the Pavese to call it a "city of straw." But it was destined neither to prove a reed shaken by the wind, nor to accept the appellation of Cesarea which the

[1] *Ib. Cf.* another letter of the same, ap. *ib.*, p. 443, or ep. 249; *Ann. S. Disibodi*, an. 1167, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.; Morena, p. 1159, notes that Frederick fled "per terram Comitis Uberti de Savogna filii quondam C. Amadei, qui et Comes dicitur de Morienna." The Humberts of the house of Savoy are again in evidence.

[2] Still ep. 244. "Adhuc autem incertum est an d. Papa Lumbardorum velit audire preces se transferendo ad illos; creditur tamen."

[3] "Cui (Alexander) se devotos esse gaudebant." Will. of Newburgh, ii. 17.

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imperialists tried to fasten upon it. The people from the surrounding districts flocked into the newly risen Alessandria in such numbers that in a year's time it was said to be able to put fifteen thousand men into the field.[1] In the course of the second year of its life its consuls came to the Pope at Benevento, and made their city tributary to him.[2] Every family, according to its wealth, was to pay one or three denarii to the Holy See every year on the feast of St. Martin.[3] Alexander on his side afterwards made the new city the seat of a bishopric.[4]

Death of the anti-pope Paschal III., and election of Calixtus III., 1168.

When the terrible havoc which the plague made in his army forced Frederick to leave the neighbourhood of Rome, he took Paschal III. with him, but left him at Viterbo with the hostages which the Romans had given him as a guarantee that they would observe the agreement they had made with him.[5] The antipope, however, with the aid of the imperialists,[6] soon returned to the Leonine city (1167). There the Pope's vicar in Rome, the bishop of Albano, and the Romans suffered him to remain whilst they entered into vain negotiations with him for the surrender of their hostages whom he held fast

[1] *Cf.* Boso, p. 418 f.

[2] *Ib.* "Offerentes ei . . . ipsam civitatem in jus et proprietatem, eamque b. Petro tributariam sponte fecerunt."

[3] *Cf. Liber Censuum* (which counted among its taxpayers *Commune Alexandrinum*), ed. Fabre, i. 112 n.; and the Register of Innocent III., ann. 1205, sub ep. 53 (ap. *P. L.*, t. 115, p. 621), where the actual instrument of the conveyance (*per fustem*) of the city is given. The city's envoys "vobis fidelitatem fecimus, et nostras manus, licet indignas, inter vestras sacratissimas manus mittentes vobis hominium fecimus."

[4] *Cf.* ep. 1234, January 30, 1176; Boso, p. 431; and ep. Innocent III., *Reg.*, viii. 53, ap. *P. L.*, t. 215, p. 619.

[5] Morena, p. 1155.

[6] A diploma cited by Watterich, ii. 574 n., shows as their leaders, John (of Vico), who had been named Prefect of Rome by Frederick, Rainone of Tusculum, Odo Colonna, etc. *Cf.* Append. to Rahewin, an. 1169. "Gwido . . . a fidelibus imperatoris Rome locatur."

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in Viterbo.[1] But he durst not stir out of the tower of Stephen Theobaldus, where he had taken up his abode,[2] and, stricken first with gout or some disease which lamed him,[3] and then with cancer and pleurisy,[4] he died a miser-

[1] John of S., ep. ap. *Mat.*, vi. 405, or ep. 244.

[2] *Cf.* another letter of John, ap. *ib.*, p. 480, or ep. 261.

[3] Boso, p. 419.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 420. "Cancri morbo in renibus est percussus cum pulmonis anelitu, . . . emisit fetidam saniem, . . . impenitens . . . pessima morte succubuit." On his death the following rhyming couplets were put in circulation, setting forth that the impious power of Octavian and Guido had collapsed, whereas that of Alexander, another Peter, here rested on a rock, and would hereafter be established in heaven:

> "Corruit insani | Guidonis et Octaviani
> Impia majestas, | intempestiva potestas.
> Surgit Alexander | ratione, fide, Petrus alter;
> Stat nunc in petra | post hec statuendus in ethra." *Ib.*

As a counterblast to this poem, there appeared soon after (*c.* 1170) ten mystic "angelic verses" (*versus angelici*) by an Italian (?) partisan of the antipopes. They were a kind of political prophecy against Alexander, and were followed by a prose interpretation. Foretelling the approaching downfall of Alexander, they begin with an allusion to the charge of his having obtained the Papacy by bribery. The opening verses will show their mystic character:

> "Dic Caypte; mercede caput dampnatur alumpni,
> Salvant et perdunt a. a. a. quæ sunt Hiermie."

The three a's are explained to denote, among other things, the three rivals of Alexander who are "saved" when the *Rolandini* (the partisans of Alexander) excommunicate them, because their curse is turned into a blessing, and, when they usurp their rights, these same Rolandini destroy them. Balzani found the verses in the British Museum (Addit. MS. 22349). *Cf.* U. Balzani (*estratto*) *Una profezia del Dodicesimo Secolo*, Rome, 1897. One result of these quarrels between the Church and the Empire was to bring into being about this time a number of anonymous satirists who did not fear to lampoon even the Pope himself. Giraldus Cambrensis, ap. Wright, *The Latin Poems of Walter Map* (Camden Society, 1841), p. xxxvii, denounces these scribblers, and adds that in his time they did not even spare the great Alexander when he went to Beneventum. One of them wrote, he says:

> "Ni fecit argentum bene venit hic Beneventum,
> Verba dat in ventum nisi proferat ante talentum."

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able death (September 20, 1168) and was buried in St. Peter's.[1]

Election of a third antipope, Calixtus III., 1168.

On the death of Octavian the schismatical party had found it difficult to find him a successor. They had now to seek in the highways and byways for one who was willing to replace Guido. At length they found a "certain John, at one time abbot of Struma," in Hungary, whom Alexander's biographer, Boso, naturally no friend of John, describes as "an apostate, and an impure, greedy, vagabond" (*lubricum, voracem girovagum*). This abbot was hailed by his electors as Calixtus III.; and, again according to the same authority, was acknowledged by the scum of clerical and lay society, who supported him, as they had supported his predecessor, by robbing the pilgrim and the traveller.[2] Even this puppet was in due course acknowledged by the obstinate emperor, who ordered his officials to support him.[3]

[1] *Append. ad Rahewin*, ad an. 1169. When Octavian died, the imperialists recorded (Morena, p. 125) that "it was said" that miracles were worked at his tomb. Such was not *said* with regard to Guido's tomb.

[2] Boso, p. 420, calls John's partisans: "lenones, scurre, fugitivi ex monasteriis et pro sceleribus dampnati, fures quoque et raptores," etc. On the election of John, see also *Annal. Ceccan.*, an. 1168; Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, p. 210; *Append. ad R.*, p. 279. He is also called by these authorities: "electum de Albanis quidam Tusculanensis episcopus," and "albanensis episcopus." John had been named bishop of Albano by the antipope Guido. In opposition to the character given to John by Boso, Stephen of Rouen (who evidently knew nothing about him) says of him:

> "Subrogat huic *alium* princeps, præsente senatu
> Qui *meritis*, fidei lumine notus erat."
>
> *Draco Normannicus*, iii. v. 1264, 5.

But another contemporary poet, playing on words, says of him;

> "Nam quia Theuthonicis est injuste mixtus
> Super mortis *calicem* gustabit *Calixtus*."
>
> Walter ab Insulis, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 560.

[3] Boso, 420, 421.

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The Empire quiet for years, 1168–1174.

During the six years that followed the flight of Frederick from Italy, there was a pause in the death-grapple between the Church and the Empire. In England, indeed, during this interval, the struggle for ecclesiastical, and, it may be added, for civil liberty, which was going on at the same time, culminated in the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket (December 29, 1170). But, to borrow a phrase from John of Salisbury, "for a while the whole world was silent." The silence cannot be called absolute; but whether we consider the emperor and the Lombard League on the one hand, or the Pope and the Romans on the other, the years in question marked a period of comparative rest. Preparations, however, for the renewal of the conflict were in progress in the meanwhile, nor were there wanting indications of what was to come.

One of the many stories told by the monk Cæsar of Heisterbach, who wrote under Honorius III., will show the kind of "peace" that reigned during the Empire at this period. During the time of the schism between Alexander and Calixtus (of which Frederick "was the author and defender"), says Cæsar, everyone in the Empire was commanded to swear fealty to the Pope whom the emperor had created or go into exile. The monks of Hemmenrode among others declared "they would never recede from the unity of the Church," and they were ordered to leave the Empire forthwith. Whilst they were preparing to go into France, one of the brethren asked a venerable monk who was always lost in contemplation, "Do you not know, father, that we have to leave this place?" "Fear not," replied the holy man, "God will not desert those who trust in Him. Sing with deep sorrow the Antiphon of the *Magnificat*, and the Lord will console you." This they did, calling on Him who held the earth in the hollow of His hand to hear their tearful prayers.

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God heard their sorrowful cries, and changed the heart of the emperor, who bade them remain, and pray for the Empire. Whence, concludes the pious monk, you may argue how efficacious before God are the tears of sorrow.[1]

The work of Frederick in Germany, 1168–74.

When Frederick returned to Germany after the annihilation of his army, he had much to do. He had in the first place to recover prestige, because it not unnaturally seemed to most men that the hand of God was against him. He had, moreover, to make peace between some of his most powerful feudatories who were at war with one another, and he had to gather together a fresh army. But he was equal to the occasion. No man was ever more indomitable in devising means to pursue a chimera, or more undaunted in his resolve to overcome insurmountable obstacles, than Barbarossa. For in all that he did during these six years he kept two ends ever before his eyes. He would humble Alexander by making Christendom acknowledge the antipope, and he would subdue to his will the cities of Lombardy. He began by making peace between his relative Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, the most powerful of his subjects, and Albert the Bear, the founder of the house of Brandenburg.[2] Nor, in the hope of gaining his immediate end, which was to ensure the whole-hearted support of Henry, did he hesitate unduly to increase his power. In place of Reinald of Dassel he promoted another of his partisans (Philip of Heinsberg) to the see of Cologne, and he did all he could to place in the hands of adherents the offices which the plague had made vacant, and to put at his own disposal domains which the same cause had left ownerless.[3] To secure the

[1] *Dialogus Mirac.*, dis. ii. c. 18, ed. Strange.

[2] Helmold, *Chron. Slav.*, ii. 1. "Dicens tumultum Saxonie dedisse Longbardis materiam defectionis." *Cf. Chron. reg. Colon.*, 1168.

[3] *Cf.* Zeller, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, p. 225 f.

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succession to the Empire in his own family, he succeeded in getting his son Henry, though only four years of age, recognised as king (1169), and, to quiet the consciences of such as were troubled by his recognition of antipopes, "the Teutonic tyrant" opened negotiations with the Pope.[1] He was anxious, or pretended to be, that his little son should be accepted as emperor by Alexander, and should receive regal consecration at the hands "of Catholic bishops."[2] Accordingly, he selected as his ambassadors to Alexander men who were known to be devoted to him; but, in order to breed distrust between the Lombard League and the Pope, they were instructed to make known to the Pope alone the offers of peace with which they were entrusted. Alexander, however, was as far-seeing as Frederick, and immediately requested the League to send envoys who along with him might treat of peace with the emperor's ambassadors[3] (March 1170). The Lombards at once complied with the Pope's wishes, and, in presence of their envoys, Alexander met Ebehard II., bishop of Bamberg, and the other imperial ambassadors at Veroli. But the bishop was not empowered to do more than make on Frederick's part some ambiguous offer of obedience to the

[1] "Teutonicus tyrannus consilio prudentum partis suæ, abbates Cisterciensem (Alexander) et Clarevallensem (Pontius), cum iis et per eos, ut creditur de pace ecclesiæ tractaturus." John of Salisbury, ep. ap. *Materials*, vi. 506 ff., or ep. 284. *Cf. Chron. reg. Colon.*, an. 1169, ed. Waitz, p. 120, and especially Boso, p. 421.

[2] John of S., ap. *ib.*, vii. p. 2 ff., or ep. 292. At the same time, even according to John, Frederick appended the extraordinary condition: "dum tamen Fredericus in persona sua nullum apostolicum, nisi velit, recipere compellatur, præter Petrum et alios, qui in cælis sunt." John expresses the opinion that this condition may possibly be accepted by the Pope; but one would have thought that the expression of such an idea ought to have shown John that Frederick was not in earnest.

[3] Boso, *l.c.* *Cf.* Ep. John of S., ap. *Mat.*, vii. 232, or ep. 293, and a letter of Alexander to the Lombard League, ap. Jaffé, 11,747.

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Pope.[1] The embassy, of course, came to naught, as its author intended it should do; for, before it, he had despatched most distinguished envoys to Henry of England to offer an alliance against the Pope and against Louis of France (*c.* September 1168);[2] and, after it, he declared, as he had done before, that he would never recognise Alexander as Pope (1170).[3]

All Frederick's foreign relations at this time were equally complicated or tortuous. At one moment, for instance, he receives graciously the Greek emperor Manuel's ambassadors who came to treat of a marriage between his daughter and Frederick's son (1171),[4] and yet, soon after, in a diet of Worms (March 1172) he succeeds in inducing the princes of the Empire to promise to join him in another expedition into Italy in two years' time, because the papal party were desirous of giving the imperial crown "to the Greek,"[5] and he declares war upon him. And, about the same time that he was allying himself with Henry of England against Louis of France, he

[1] "De papatu vero et obedientia sibi tenenda ita implicite loquebatur et velate, quod ex verbis ejus catholicum sensum capere minime poterat." Boso, *l.c.* *Cf.* the last note from John of S., and *Rahewin. Append.* (1170).

[2] Robertus de Monte; and *Chron. reg. Colon.*, both ad an. 1168; *Rahewin. Append.*, an. 1169, p. 280. *Cf.* various letters, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 144 and p. 321, a letter to the Pope by Matthew of Sens, who opens his letter by asserting: "Omnis fidelis anima necessitate juris subjicitur apostolicæ majestati—Every faithful soul is legally bound to subjection to the Pope."

[3] *Chron. Colon.*, an. 1170. "Imperator vero ibi (at a diet at Fulda, June 8, 1170) sicut et superius aiebat, nunquam se pro apostolico Ruolandum habiturum."

[4] *Chron. reg. Col.*, ad an. 117.

[5] *Ib.*, 1172. The Romans and Pisans at once wrote to Philip, "archbishop of Cologne and archchancellor of Italy," to express their pleasure at hearing the news of Frederick's intended fresh visit to Italy. The annalist adds that he knows not whether love or fear dictated the letters.

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was trying to negotiate a marriage between his son and the daughter of the French king.[1] Provided he strengthened his hand at the moment, he appears to have been utterly reckless of the means he employed for the purpose.

The Lombard league, 1168–74.

Whilst Frederick was thus straining every nerve to increase his power so that he might again make an attempt to bend the Lombard cities to his will, they were endeavouring to make good the losses he had already inflicted upon town and country, and to prepare for the fresh attack upon their liberties which they perceived was soon to come. Although fierce internal struggles were rife in Tuscany and in the Romagna, the League steadily spread. At an important assembly at Modena (October 1173), fresh cities joined it, and it became known as the League of Lombardy, of the March (of Treviso), of Romagna, of Verona, and of Venice. Alexander throughout steadily supported the aims of the League. His legates were constantly in their midst, and were instructed to excommunicate any who should conspire against the federation.[2]

If Frederick in his fierce hatred of Alexander was ready to go to any extreme, so also was Henry II. in his hatred of St. Thomas. It was during the interval of which we are now treating that the quarrel between the two last named reached its height. To humble St. Thomas, Henry turned to the Italian cities after he had failed to effect

[1] Ep. 872, Alex., February 28, 1171 or 2. *Cf.* epp. 792 and 1104.

[2] See the Pope's letter "to all the consuls of the cities of Lombardy, of the March, and of Romagna." Jaffé, 11,747, March 24, 1170. *Cf.* ep. 851, January 28, 1171 or 2. "Oportet nos inter civitates Lombardiæ, et eorum cives hoc tempore præcipue pacem et concordiam ponere, et ad eorum unitatem vigili studio . . . intendere." Cardinals Hildebrand and Theodwin were present at the important meeting of the League held at Modena in October 1173. *Cf.* Tosti, *Storia della Lega*, p. 310, and Testa, p. 382. Theodwin of St. Vitalis was one of the two cardinals who in 1172 absolved Henry after the murder of St. Thomas Becket.

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his purpose by alliances with Frederick and the schismatics. He offered thousands of marks to Milan, to Cremona, to Parma, and to Bologna if they would in any way obtain from the Pope the deposition or the translation of the archbishop.[1] But though the king succeeded in interesting them in his behalf,[2] they remained as true to the Pope as Alexander was true to them.

The Romans, the Pope, and the antipope, 1168–74.

The Romans had, of course, not forgotten the terrible defeat that the people of Tusculum and Albano, with the aid of the Germans, had inflicted on them in the May of 1167. As soon as they had somewhat recovered themselves from their defeat and from the plague of 1167, which affected them as well as the Germans, they prepared for vengeance. As their hatred and jealousy of Tusculum occupied the first place among their passions, they were content to ally themselves with that very Christian, archbishop of Mainz, who had been the cause of their defeat. Issuing forth from behind their strong walls—this time with more determination and less pomp—they succeeded in destroying Albano, but were compelled for the time to retire from Tusculum, as it was supported by troops sent by Alexander (1169).[3]

But it was not long before the Romans returned to the attack. So hard did they press the Tusculans that both the people and Rainone, their count, made over their city

[1] Ep. of John of S., ap. *Materials*, vii. 30, or ep. 288. *Cf.* a letter of St. Thomas himself, ap. *ib.*, p. 26. The saint adds that Henry tried to accomplish his end by bribing the Roman adherents of the Pope. "Nonne Fragentes panem (the Frangipani) et familiam Leoninam (the Pierleoni) et gentem Latronum et alios Romanos potentissimos, quasi castra conductitia adduxerunt, ut non tam flecterent quam frangerent ecclesiam Romanam?" He even tried to buy the Pope himself and the king of Sicily. *Cf. ib.*

[2] See a letter of Alexander, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 299, an. 1170, or ep. 742.

[3] Boso, p. 419; *Sigebert. Contin. Acqui.*, and *Ann. Ceccan.*, both ad an. 1169.

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to the Pope, who made his solemn entry into it on September 17, 1170, and occupied its citadel till January 1173.[1] This surrender of the city only inflamed the hatred of the Romans still more; and they told the Pope that, unless he abandoned the place, they would do him all the mischief in their power. It was to no purpose that, as was his wont, Alexander pointed out to them with equal mildness and firmness that the Apostolic See must continue to be just towards the city, but that now that it was in the hands of the Roman Church, he would see that it would henceforth benefit and not harm the Romans. But in this instance a mild answer failed to turn away wrath, because, says Boso,[2] whom we are quoting, and who here speaks like all the independent writers of his age: "the Romans are seditious among themselves, and jealous of their neighbours. They know not either how to be subject, or how to command. They are faithless to their rulers, and unbearable to their inferiors. While their words are of the grandest, their deeds are of the smallest."

Hostilities were accordingly kept up between the Tusculans and the Romans. At length, however, after repeated efforts on the part of the Pope, a peace was agreed to on condition that, if the Tusculans would consent to the destruction of a portion of their walls by the Romans as a concession to their *amour propre*, the Romans on their side would let bygones be bygones, would henceforth live at peace with the Tusculans, and as his obedient subjects would receive him back into the city. But when once they had begun the destruction of the walls, they thought no more of their oaths, but, disregarding the remonstrances of Alexander, they destroyed the whole circuit of the city's walls under his very eyes. Even this outrage, continues

[1] Boso, p. 422 f. He gives Rainone's deed of gift in full.
[2] P. 424.

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Boso, Alexander bore "like the vicar of Christ," and, in a very different spirit to that which animated his predecessor (Hadrian IV.) on a similar occasion, refrained from punishing the perjured Romans, but retired quietly to Segni (January 1173).[1]

The action of the Romans in this affair of the destruction of the walls of Tusculum is typical of the crooked policy of many of the great ones of their age, and is thus well commented on by Testa: "With an imperial prefect in Rome, they went forth to make war on those who were faithful to the Empire. They did not admit into their city the Pope, whose censures they feared, nor, on the other hand, did they adhere to the antipope, whom they allowed to remain in their city; and, whilst they themselves were not free, they sought to subjugate their neighbours."[2]

The Greek emperor asks the Pope to recognise him as emperor of the West.

It was also during this interval of comparative rest that the Greek emperor renewed his attempts to induce the Pope to acknowledge him as emperor of the West in place of Frederick. His envoys, who brought with them "an immense sum of money" for the Pope, said that their master was anxious to afford the Pope that protection which, by virtue of his office, Frederick ought to have given him, and to bring back the Greek Church to unity with that of Rome. They therefore begged the Pope to deprive Frederick of the imperial crown, and, as justice required, to restore it to their master. Should he grant their request, Manuel would supply him with all the men and money of which he stood in need. But, as far at least

[1] *Ib.*, and p. 426. *Cf. Ann. Ceccan.*, ann. 1172 and 1173, and Romuald of Salerno, p. 210. The Romans appear to have been encouraged by the promises of Archbishop Christian. *Cf. Sigeberti contin. Acqui.*, 1171; Caffari, *Ann. Jan.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 346; and *Chron. Pisanum*, ap. *ib.*, p. 189. Christian had again been sent into Italy in 1171. *Ann. reg. Colon.*, 1171. "Multa strenue operatus est."

[2] *The War against the Communes*, p. 376.

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as the bestowing of the imperial crown was concerned, Alexander declined to entertain the Greek emperor's proposals, and sent him back all his money. However, in the vain hope of effecting the reconciliation of the Greek Church, he sent fresh nuncios to Constantinople (1170).[1]

Frederick's fifth expedition into Italy, 1174.

At length the indomitable Barbarossa had overcome all his difficulties, including an attack of gout,[2] and in the month of September once again set out for Italy "with a most powerful army."[3] Entering Italy as he had last left it, viz., by the pass of Mont Cenis, because that pass was under the control of his allies, Frederick advanced towards Alessandria, burning and subduing the smaller towns as he marched along.[4] With the aid of soldiers also from one or two Italian cities like Pavia, he commenced the siege of Alessandria, expecting soon to be able to capture "the city of straw." But the city of straw was defended by men of iron; and, though Frederick tried every means, even, so it is said,[5] treachery, he failed to take the place. To add to his difficulties, the forces of the cities of the League began to assemble in March, and on April 6 they encamped in strength at Tortona, some ten miles from the imperial army (1175).

[1] Boso, p. 419 f., and Caffari, *Ann. Januenses*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 336. To interest the chief lay supporters of the Pope in his schemes, Manuel sent his niece to be married to Oddo Frangipane. The marriage ceremony was performed for them by the Pope himself at Veroli. *Cf. Ann. Ceccan.*, 1170. From what has been said in the text, it will be seen that no credit is to be placed in the *Ann. Disibod.*, 1174, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii., when they say, "Alex . . . coronam imperii modo regi Grecorum, modo regi Siciliæ promittit."

[2] "Quem (the Teutonic tyrant), sicut fama publica est apud nos . . . podagra percussit (Deus) in pedibus, ut incedere nequeat nisi stipatorum auxilio fulciatur." Ep. ap. *Materials*, vi. 499, or ep. 287.

[3] *Chron. reg. Colon.*, 1174. "Validissimo adunato exercitu." *Cf. Contin. Sanblas.*, c. 22, and Boso, p. 427.

[4] *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul), p. 1192; Boso, *ib.*

[5] Boso, p. 428.

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Frederick had lost heavily owing to the severity of the winter as well as to the vigour of the defence, and dared not allow himself to be caught between the people of Alessandria and the troops of the League. Deeply mortified, he had to raise the siege, fall back upon Pavia, and profess to be willing to treat about peace. "Saving the rights of the Empire," he declared he was ready to submit his cause to arbitration, and the League on their side made the same profession, "saving the freedom of the Church of Rome and their own."[1] Accordingly, on April 16 an armistice was agreed to till the middle of May, and it was arranged that the matters in dispute between the emperor and the League should be submitted to six arbitrators, three to be chosen by each side, and that "all the consuls of Cremona" should be called in to settle any point on which the six could not agree.[2]

An armistice is arranged at Montebello.

Conferences were opened at once. The Pope was asked to send legates to assist at them, and proposals of peace were drawn up by both parties.[3] The first point insisted on by the Lombards was that Frederick should make peace with the "holy Roman Church, the mother of all the faithful, and with its pontiff the lord Alexander." The next was that they should render to Frederick no more than those dues which their forefathers had paid to his predecessors from the time of the death of "the

Peace proposals.

[1] Boso, p. 429.

[2] See the text of the agreement, ap. Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Select.* (1037–1244), p. 220 ff. (*cf.* p. 229), or *Mon. Germ. Legg.*, ii. 145–7.

[3] The preamble of the Lombard proposals was as follows: "In nomine Dni. Jesu Christi. Societas Lombardiæ et Marchiæ et Romaniæ et Veronæ et Veneciæ optat atque desiderat habere pacem . . . et gratiam d. Friderici imp. hoc modo." Then follow the clauses: "(1) videlicet ut d. imperator habeat pacem et concordiam cum sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, omnium fidelium matre, et ejusdem ecclesiæ suo pontifice, d. Alexandro." Ap. Doeberl, *ib.*, p. 226 ff.; or *Mon. Germ.*, *ib.*, 151 ff.

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later Henry" (Henry V.). The cities of the League were to be allowed to retain and even improve their fortifications, to continue in their League, and ever to remain in the unity of the Church. On the other hand, they were to furnish the emperor with the customary supplies when he went to Rome "for the sake of receiving the crown." His vassals were to offer him homage, and, in accordance with custom, accompany him to Rome. Though he professed to find some of these conditions very hard, Frederick wrote to the League to say that he was ready to accept them (June 1175),[1] and awaited the arrival of the Pope's legates.

Unwilling to lose an opportunity of making peace, Alexander, in response to the emperor's request, despatched Hubaldus, bishop of Ostia (afterwards Lucius III.), and Bernard, bishop of Porto. They were everywhere received with the greatest honour as they journeyed North, giving the sacrament of Confirmation as they went along.[2] Frederick also received them with honour, uncovering in their presence, and expressing to them in German his pleasure at their arrival.[3] On their side the legates trusted that God would move the emperor to make peace with the Church, so that they might without any scruples be able to return his greetings. They pointed out the harm which the schism had done both to the Church and to the Empire, and urged that, as all the world had accepted Alexander, the emperor ought not to assail the unity of the Church any longer. Frederick was touched, or pretended to be touched, by their words, and promised peace.[4]

[1] Ap. Doeberl, *ib.*, p. 231; or Stumpf, *Acta imperii ined.*, n. 366.

[2] "Ad. consignationem puerorum ipsis copiosam multitudinem infantium præsentabat (plebs universa)." Boso, 430.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.*, and p. 431. The *Liber tristicie* (Sire Raoul) thus sums up these peace negotiations: "Ibi quædam pax ficte facta fuit."

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They come to nothing, 1175.

But when it came to the final settlement of the terms between the Empire on the one hand, and the League and the Pope and his other allies, the King of Sicily and the Greek emperor Manuel, on the other, Frederick would only grant to the cities the privileges they possessed in the time of Charlemagne or of Otho. He insisted too on the demolition of the hated Alessandria, and demanded from the Church "what had never been conceded to any layman."[1] It was plain that neither peace at any price nor peace at the Lombards' price was to Frederick's taste, so that the legates returned to the Pope, and the Lombard League prepared for war.

Fresh troops from Germany, May 1176.

At this juncture the emperor was sadly in need of time. After the hardships which his vassals had endured, and the losses they had sustained during the months they had besieged Alessandria, they had tired of the campaign, and many of them had returned to Germany either with or without the emperor's permission.[2] Frederick had, therefore, to send for fresh troops. Pending their arrival, he not merely continued negotiations for peace, but endeavoured to break the union between the Pope and the League. As the Lombards themselves afterwards impressed upon the Pope when he met them at Ferrara

[1] Boso, *ib.* On these negotiations, *cf.* also *Contin. Sanblas.*, c. 23, Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 213 f.; Robert de Monte, an. 1175; Godfrey of Viterbo, c. 36; *Chron. reg. Colon.*, an. 1175; Tolosanus, *Chron.*, c. 78, ed. Borserius, Florence, 1876. Tolosanus was a canon of Faventia (Faënza), who wrote a history of his city to 1219, and died in 1226. The statements in the chroniclers, especially in the German chroniclers, must be controlled by the official documents cited above. For the many years of Barbarossa's reign for which neither Otto of Frising nor Rahewin is available, there is an unfortunate dearth of satisfactory contemporary sources of German origin.

[2] Boso, p. 429. "F. exercitum abire permisit." *Chron. reg. Colon.*, 1175. "Partem militum repatriare permisit, opulentioribus secum retentis." *Cf.* Burchard, *Urspergen. Chron.*, an. 1175.

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(1177): "The emperor often offered to make peace with us, not taking into consideration either the Church or you. But we preferred to have war along with the unity of the Church, rather than peace with its disunion."[1]

The battle of Legnano, 1176.

The war which the Lombards preferred was what they got. All during the winter of 1175–6, hostilities on a comparatively small scale went on between them and Frederick. At length in May, by the Splugen Pass and the vale of Chiavenna, or, according to others, by the Lukmanier Pass, a fresh German army descended into Italy[2] and was met by the emperor at Como. The cities of the League flew to arms, and assembled at Milan. With their Carroccio, or Banner-car, in their midst the Milanese and their allies went forth on May 29, 1176, to battle for freedom.

The two armies met in the great plain fifteen miles from Milan in the neighbourhood of Legnano, Busto Arsizio, and Borsano, and, before the sun went down on that eventful day, a decisive check had been given to the oppressive power of one of the greatest of the world's absolute princes. The host of Frederick was broken to pieces, and he himself, after being unhorsed in the fight,

[1] Romuald, *Chron.*, p. 220. "Ipse sæpe nobis pacem sine Ecclesia obtulit, nec recepimus; concordiam nobiscum sine vobis facere voluit, nec admisimus; magis enim volumus guerram illius cum ecclesiæ unitate incurrere, quam pacem ejus cum Ecclesiæ divisione servare."

[2] It was not so strong as the army of the preceding year, as many of the great princes, notably his cousin Henry the Lion, would not send their contingents. Henry is said to have acted through religious motives, though money is also mentioned as the cause of his refusal to help, "sumpta occasione de excommunicatione et forte accepta pecunia." Burchard, *Urspergens. Chron.*, an. 1175. *Cf.* on this action of the "Prince of the Princes of the Land," A. L. Poole, *Henry the Lion*, p. 59 ff., Lond., 1912. At the battle of Legnano, the emperor does not appear to have had more than 4000 men. The army of the League was much more numerous.

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and thought to be dead, only reached Pavia after three days of almost solitary wandering.[1]

Negotiations with the Pope, 1176.

Whilst the Milanese were distributing to the Pope and to their allies the immense spoils which the victory of Legnano had placed at their disposal, and whilst they were carving on their gates[2] memorials of their success, the emperor began to believe, with most of his people, that his repeated misfortunes were sent to him by God as a punishment for his treatment of Pope Alexander.[3] His belief was quickened by the refusal of his cousin, Henry the Lion, and other princes to follow him any longer unless he made peace with the Church.[4] He accordingly once more set on foot negotiations for the healing of the schism. But at first he was only so far sincere as to wish it to be healed

[1] Boso, p. 432-3; Romuald, *l.c.*, p. 215. See also Magnus of Reichersberg and other authorities, ap. Watterich, ii. 595 f. In the letter of the Milanese to the people of Bologna about their victory, they state that they regard its spoils as not theirs only but the Pope's and the Italians in general. "Quæ quidem nostra non reputamus, sed ea d. Papæ et Ytalicorum communia esse desideramus." Ap. Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines*, an. 1176, vol. i. p. 409, R. S.

[2] A series of bas-reliefs on the Porta Romana in very poor style told of the battle. "Filled with contempt and hatred for Barbarossa, the Milanese caused two portrait bas-reliefs of himself and his wife Beatrice to be set up on the Porta Romana, one of which is a hideous caricature, the other too grossly obscene for description." Hare, *Cities of Italy*, i. 140, quoting Perkin's *Italian Sculptors*. A good account of the battle is given by Oman, *Hist. of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 439.

[3] Welf-Este VI., marquis of Tuscany, uncle of the emperor and of Henry the Lion, in writing to Alexander thus speaks of the battle of Legnano: "Pars quæ catholicæ veritati rebellabat, Dei triumphantis in se victoriam recognovit." *Origines Guelficæ*, t. ii., quoted by Bertolini, *Saggi Critici*, p. 249, Milan, 1883. He signs himself "Duke of Spoleto, Marquis of Tuscany, Prince of Sardinia, and Lord of the whole house (or substance *domus, substantiæ*) of the Countess Matilda." *Cf.* documents of his rule, ap. Cosimo della Rena, *Storia de' Duchi, di Toscana*, p. 42 ff.

[4] Boso, p. 433.

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to the profit of his own adherents.[1] Hence, though he gave out that he was definitely bent on peace,[2] and though he sent (October) a most important embassy to Alexander at Anagni,[3] he did not cease meanwhile endeavouring to sow distrust between him and his allies. The Pope, however, lost no time in assuring the Lombards that "he could never be induced to agree to any peace that did not include them, the king of Sicily and the other allies of the Church"; and still further to convince them of his sincerity, he told them that, despite his age, he would journey to the north and consult with them in person about the peace.[4]

But Frederick's plenipotentiaries seem to have been more in earnest than their master.[5] It was universally agreed, they said, that God had appointed two principal powers to rule the world, viz., the sacerdotal and the regal (*sacerdotalis dignitas et regalis potestas*); and therefore they were anxious for these two powers to be at peace again; because, unless there was concord between them, the whole world resounded with the din of war. Alexander thereupon assured the envoys that nothing gave him greater pleasure than to hear that the emperor, whom he recognised as the greatest of earthly princes, was anxious for peace. But if, he continued, he desires peace with the

[1] See various letters of Frederick and others cited by Watterich, ii. 596 n., and 602 ff.

[2] Ep. Fred.: "*Finaliter* tractandum est ecclesiæ negotium." Ap. Bouquet, xvi. p. 698. *Cf. Ann. Pegavenses*, an. 1176, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

[3] Boso, *ib.*; Romuald, *Chron.*, p. 215; *Annal. Cæcan.*, an. 1176.

[4] Ep. 1256 to the *rectors* of the March, about November 1176. *Cf.* ep. 1252 to his nuncios in Lombardy. Alexander made the same declaration to Frederick's ambassadors at Anagni. Boso, p. 434.

[5] There is plenty of evidence that Christian of Mainz was conscious of serving his sovereign rather than his God. He "Papam vexabat, non voluntarie, ut credo, sed mandatis sui Domini satisfaciens." *Hist. Ducum Ven.*, c. 10. Hence he worked the hardest to promote the peace of Venice. Romuald, p. 234.

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Church, that peace must include "all those who have helped us, particularly the king of Sicily, the Lombards, and the emperor of Constantinople."

The pact or treaty of Anagni, Nov. 4, 1176.

To this the plenipotentiaries assented, but requested that the draft of the terms of peace with the Church should be drawn up in secret. For more than fifteen days were the terms discussed; but at last the *Instrumentum pacis Anagninæ* in twenty-eight clauses was agreed to. Of these the principal ones were that the emperor should recognise Alexander as the true Pope, give peace to the Church, and restore to it the prefectship and everything else (including the lands of the Countess Matilda) which he had taken from it. Peace was also to be granted to the king of Sicily, to the emperor of Constantinople, and "to those who had helped the Roman Church." Most of the clauses concerned the rights to be conceded, or not to be conceded, to individuals.

For instance, the militant Christian, chancellor of the emperor, who was one of the plenipotentiaries, was to be recognised as archbishop of Mainz, whereas the first suitable vacant German see was to be granted to Conrad, who had lost that see owing to his loyalty to the Pope, and an abbacy was to be granted "to him who calls himself Calixtus." A six years' truce between the emperor and the Lombards was to begin from the 1st of August 1177.[1]

It was also arranged that the final conclusion of the treaty should be deferred until the Pope had in person interviewed the emperor and the Lombards. Meanwhile,

[1] See the "Pact of Anagni," ap. Watterich, ii. 597 ff., or the new ed. of it given by Kehr in the *Neues Archiv*, t. xiii. p. 109, from a contemporary Vatican copy of the original which is now lost. With the *Pactum* cf. the *Promissio legatorum* next to be cited. Kehr's version is reprinted in Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Select.*, p. 235 ff. The English reader will find a translation of this document ap. Thatcher and M'Neal, *A Source-Book for Mediæval History*, p. 197 f.

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the imperial plenipotentiaries in a document the original of which is still preserved in the Vatican archives, guaranteed on their master's behalf the observance of the principal articles of the treaty, and gave the Pope and the cardinals all the requisite safe-conducts for their journey to Bologna, or Ravenna or Venice or to wherever else the course of the negotiations might lead them.[1]

Alexander proceeds to Venice, 1176–77.

Sending on six cardinals to notify his coming both to the emperor and to the Lombards, and appointing a vicar in Rome, Alexander left Anagni in the beginning of December, spent Christmas at Benevento, and reached the harbour of Vesta (Viesti), on the promontory of Mons Garganus, in the beginning of February. There he found a fleet of seven galleys which the king of Sicily had sent for his use. On board were William's envoys, one of whom was Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, the learned historian whose chronicle we have quoted so often, and who has left us a most valuable narrative of the peace of Venice.[2] For thirty days a storm prevented the papal party from moving; and, whilst the Pope was fretting under this untoward delay, he was distressed by the news that the emperor had succeeded in detaching Cremona and Tortona from the League.[3]

[1] See the *Promissio legatorum*, ap. W., p. 601 f., or *M. G. LL.*, t. ii. p. 149. *Cf.* Boso, p. 435. This guarantee is thus summed up by Boso: "Data est firma securitas ex parte imperatoris omnibus ecclesie Romane personis et rebus eorum ac terris b. Petri et Sicilie regis cunctisque viatoribus, usque ad consummationem ipsius pacis." Before he left Anagni, Alexander sent two cardinals to get the emperor himself to ratify the safe-conduct granted by his envoys. Boso, p. 436.

[2] Among the pictures in the Lateran, one was painted to commemorate this famous peace. Beneath it were placed these verses:

"Præsul Alexander ratibus devectus ab Urbe,
Pergit, et innumere veniunt per litora turbe.
Legatos Siculus Grecusque per equora mittunt
Qui referant scriptum quod erit sub Cesare dictum."

They are quoted in the Viterbo Catalogue of the Popes, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. 351.

[3] Boso, *ib.*

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At length, however, the storm abated, and with a favourable southerly wind Alexander put to sea on Ash Wednesday, after he had been duly reminded of his frail mortality by the imposition of the ashes (March 9, 1117). At this point the Englishman's love of the sea breaks out in the papal biographer, and he enthusiastically descants on the glorious sight presented by eleven war galleys and two merchantmen laden with provisions and the Pope's white horses, ploughing the deep blue sea under a bright sun with swelling sails in all the pomp of war. But by midday all was changed. The wind veered to the north, and soon the war galleys were rowing for life or death, while the merchantmen had to turn back to Vesta. The warships, however, reached the little isle of Pelagosa in safety, and a cheerful and plentiful meal soon restored the spirits of the Pope, which sea-sickness and the fast of Lent had somewhat broken. When night came on the wind again changed to the south, and the war galleys again put to sea, and, following the swifter ship of the Pope, which carried "a great light" to guide them, all reached the isle of Lissa about the middle of the following day (March 10). Then, skirting a number of the other Dalmatian islands, the whole fleet sailed into the harbour of Zara, "the first of the cities of Hungary" (March 13).

Alexander in Zara.

The enthusiasm of the clergy and people knew no bounds, for a Pope had never before visited their city. They gave thanks to the Lord "who in their times had deigned to visit them in the person of His servant Alexander, the successor of Blessed Peter."[1] They set the Pope on a white horse, and with canticles of joy sung "in their own Slavonic tongue," led him to the cathedral church of Blessed

[1] Benedicentes "Dominum, qui modernis temporibus per famulum suum Alexandrum, successorem b. Petri, ecclesiam Jadertinam dignatus est visitare." Boso, p. 437.

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Anastasia, "where the virgin martyr lies honourably buried."[1] After transacting various business for four days, Alexander again put to sea, and, sailing "through the islands of the Slavs, and coasting by the small maritime cities of Istria, he reached the monastery of St. Nicholas" on the *Lido*, part of the strip of land which "extends along the mouth of the lagoon, and forms the outer bulwark of Venice against the sea" (March 23).[2]

Preliminary negotiations at Venice, 1177.

On the following day Alexander was solemnly escorted to Venice. He was taken in the Doge's gondola, which was gloriously bedecked for the occasion. The Doge, Sebastian Ziani, sat on his right, and the Patriarch of Grado, Henry Dandolo, on his left. After a visit to the Church of St. Mark, which with its whole adjoining square was densely crowded with people to welcome the Pope, he adjourned to the palace of the Patriarch. There he found envoys from the emperor who wished to meet the Pope not at Bologna, but at Ravenna or Venice. But, as the two cardinals whom Alexander had sent to Frederick about the safe-conducts had agreed with the Lombards and with the emperor himself that the meeting should take place at Bologna, the Pope declared that he could not alter the arrangement without consulting his friends. In order, however, not to delay the negotiations for peace, he would, he said, at once proceed to Ferrara, and would summon "the rectors of Lombardy" to meet him there on Passion Sunday (April 10).[3]

[1] Boso, *ib.* *Cf.* Thomas of Spalato, *Hist. Salon.*, c. 21, ed. Rački, p. 72. For the ecclesiastical affairs settled by the Pope whilst at Zara, see Albinoni, *Memorie per la storia della Dalmazia*, ii. p. 38 f., Zara, 1809.

[2] Hare, *Cities of Italy*, ii. 138. The Church of St. Nicholas was rebuilt in 1826. *Cf.* Boso, *ib.*, and Romuald, p. 217 f.

[3] *Hist. D.*, c. 11; Boso, Romuald, p. 218. It may be noted again that four contemporaries, all of whom seemingly were eye-witnesses, tell us at some length of the Peace of Venice, viz., Romuald (Rom.), the envoy of William of Sicily; Boso; the author of the *Historia Ducum*

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Meanwhile, on *Lætare* Sunday (April 3) the Pope sang High Mass in St. Mark's, preached to the people, who regarded him "as an angel from heaven," and blessed and carried in procession as usual the Golden Rose. This "beautiful and large ornament which," says the Venetian historian, "is wont to be given to emperors or kings," was presented by Alexander to the Doge.[1] The Golden Rose for the Doge.

A few days later (April 9), "with a glorious fleet of galleys delightful to behold,"[2] the Pope left Venice, sailed to Lauretum (Loreo), and hence up the Po "to his own city of Ferrara." When Alexander reached that low-lying now decaying town (April 10), it was crowded with people who had flocked thither because it was Sunday, and a fair was being held. From the assembled thousands he received an enthusiastic welcome, and in the course of the week met the envoys of the emperor, of the king of Sicily, and of the Lombards in the Church of St. George where, centuries after, Eugenius IV. opened the council of Ferrara-Florence. Representing the Lombards were the patriarch of Aquileia, and the archbishops of Ravenna and Milan with their suffragans, and the rectors of the cities with their marquises and counts. Our historian, Romuald of Salerno, and Roger, count of Andria, spoke for William of Sicily, and there stood for the emperor the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Besançon, Magdeburg, and Salzburg, with some of their suffragans, and the elect of Worms and the protonotary Wortwin. The Pope goes to Ferrara.

At a preliminary meeting between Alexander and the Lombards, the Pope opened the proceedings by explaining how the emperor, who, "as the advocate" of the Church, Negotiations in the Church of St. George.

Venet. (*Hist. D.*); and the author of the *Relatio de Pace Veneta* (*Rel.*). We have given them here in the order of the importance of their narratives.

[1] *Hist. D.*, c. 11, and Boso, p. 438.

[2] Again the sea-loving Boso.

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ought to have protected it, had been the means of dividing it. The schism, he continued, during the eighteen years of its existence, had proved most disastrous to faith, to morals, and to the general prosperity. But the emperor is now desirous of peace; for the power of God has brought it about that an aged unarmed priest has been able without a blow to overthrow the might of the emperor. His envoys sought us at Anagni, and wished to make peace only with the Church and the king of Sicily; but we, knowing how you had fought for the Church and "for the liberty of Italy," would have none of it without you.[1] Hence, in spite of our age, have we braved the tempest to come to you, that we might make a peace which would be acceptable to us all.

Thereupon the Lombards, who, says Romuald, are as skilled in warring with words as in fighting with the sword, thus made answer to the Pope: Holy Father and Lord, all Italy bends before you in thanksgiving, and rejoices that you have come to save your sons from the wolf. But that the wolf "might not oppress Italy and destroy the liberty of the Church," we have opposed to it our bodies, our money, and our swords. Hence, then, is it only right that you should not make peace without us who have suffered even more than you have, and who have often refused to make peace without you. "We have preferred war with the unity of the Church to peace with its division." We are prepared, they went on to say, to render to the emperor his ancient rights, but we are resolved to maintain the liberties we have received from our fathers.[2]

A day or two after this plain speaking, seven representatives of the Church and seven of the Lombards, with

[1] "Oblatam nobis Imperatoris pacem recipere sine vobis volumus," Rom., p. 220.

[2] *Ib.*

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the two envoys of the king of Sicily, met seven envoys of the emperor and had a heated discussion as to where the meeting of the Pope and the emperor for the final settlement of the peace should take place. The wishes of the Pope finally prevailed, and it was agreed that they should meet at Venice if the Venetians would grant the necessary safe-conducts and if the emperor would agree not to enter the Venetian territories till the Pope should give his assent. The allies feared the personal influence of Frederick, and the sequel showed that their fears were not groundless. Venice was chosen because, according to one historian, "it was dependent on God alone,"[1] and because, according to its own historian, "it was safe for all and abounded with all necessaries, and was blessed with a quiet and peace-loving people."[2]

The Pope back in Venice.

After keeping Easter with great pomp at Ferrara, and receiving all the requisite assurances from the Venetians, Alexander with the various envoys once again betook himself to their city, and by May 11 was installed in the palace of the patriarch near which now stands the Rialto bridge (May 11). By the direction of the Pope, the plenipotentiaries met in the chapel of the palace twice a day, and gave their first attention to settling the terms of peace between the emperor and the Lombards.[3] As a conclusion to long discussions, Christian of Mainz[4] laid three proposals before the Lombard envoys. They were to agree to render to the emperor the regalia and his other rights which they were withholding from him, or were loyally to accept the decision of the jurists at Roncaglia, or were to conduct themselves towards him in the same manner as

[1] *Relat.*, p. 8. [2] *Hist. D.*, c. 10. *Cf. Relat., ib.*

[3] Rom., p. 222.

[4] "Qui inter D. Papam et Imperatorem quasi mediator extiterat." *Hist. D., ib.*

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their ancestors had done towards "the senior Henry," *i.e.*, seemingly to the Emperor Henry IV.[1]

With regard to the first proposal, the Lombards replied that it affected very many cities, and they accordingly asked for time, in order that the points in dispute might be debated before a judge recognised by both parties. As for the second, they said that many of the cities were not represented at Roncaglia, and that what was there decided was rather an imperial decree than a judicial sentence. Finally, they could not agree to render to the emperor the rights which their ancestors were said to have rendered to Henry IV., because there was no one now living to tell them what those rights were. Besides, Henry IV. was not a lord, but a tyrant. They were, however, ready to continue to render to Frederick the rights which had been yielded to the emperor since the time "of the younger Henry" (Henry V.).[2]

The replies of the Lombard envoys to the conditions of peace proposed by those of Frederick showed plainly enough that it would be no easy matter to arrange terms which would be satisfactory to the emperor and to the communes alike. As this became more and more apparent, both parties agreed to refer the matter to the Pope.[3]

Realising then that the points in dispute between the emperor and the Lombards were many and various, and could not be settled at a single conference, Alexander proposed that, for the full discussion of the different questions, a truce of six years should meanwhile be agreed upon between them, and a truce of fifteen years between the emperor and the king of Sicily.[4]

[1] Rom., p. 223. [2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* "Quumque super his capitulis diebus esset plurimis disputatum, et nihil penitus definitum, ex utriusque partis conscientia quæcunque hinc et inde dicta fuerant, ad Papæ audientiam sunt relata."

[4] *Ib.*, p. 224.

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This proposed change of the whole programme necessitated an appeal to the emperor, and it was agreed that to facilitate the negotiations he should come from Cesena to Chioggia. When, however, Frederick came so close to Venice, the imperial party there bade him enter the city without the Pope's leave or licence, and inspired him with the hope of yet being able, with their assistance, to make peace with the Church and the Lombards on his own terms.[1] To give his party's plans a little time to mature, Barbarossa began to procrastinate, while his imperial allies strove to persuade their countrymen that the heat and the mosquitoes made Chioggia a wholly unfit place for the residence of the emperor, and that he ought to be brought into the city.[2]

The news of this intrigue caused the greatest alarm. The Lombard envoys at once took ship and sailed to Treviso, and the Pope was in the greatest consternation. But the situation was saved by the Normans. They told Alexander that they had four armed galleys at his disposal with which he could leave Venice either with or without the permission of the Venetians; they reminded the Venetians that the friendship of the king of Sicily meant more to them than that of the emperor; and, when the Venetians talked of refusing them leave to depart, they ordered their trumpets to ring out, their galleys to be got ready for sea, and their arms and everything to be put on board.[3] This prompt action brought the Venetians to their senses. They bade the Doge hold firm to his undertaking not to admit the emperor into the city against the wish of the Pope, and, if need be, put to death those who

[1] *Ib.*, p. 226. [2] *Ib.*

[3] Rom., *ib.* "Qui (the king's envoys) ad domos suas redeuntes, statim jusserunt galeas parari, tubas canere, arma et totam suppelectilem in galeas induci."

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would have the contrary. This support of the great body of the people was exactly what the Doge wanted, and he lost no time in asking the Pope's pardon for what had occurred, and implored him to prevent the departure of the Normans.

At the Pope's request they agreed to postpone their departure, while the Doge, to restore confidence, caused a herald to proclaim on the Rialto that no one should dare mention the coming of the emperor till the time appointed by the Pope.[1]

But Barbarossa's intrigue had not ended merely in turning the Venetians against him. It had disgusted his "chancellor and the other ecclesiastical princes who were really anxious for peace," and who felt themselves committed by the Pact of Anagni. They, therefore, while acknowledging to Frederick that he was their lord in temporal matters, plainly told him that "he was not the lord of their souls," and that they were unwilling to lose them for his sake. "Wherefore your Imperial Highness must understand that for the future we will recognise Alexander as Pope of the Catholic Church, and that henceforth we will obey him in spiritual concerns. But the idol you have set up in Tuscany we will adore no longer."[2]

Realising at length that straightforward dealing was the

[1] Rom., *ib.*, p. 230. "Dux . . . apud Rivum-altum sub voce præconis fecit publice declamare, ut nullus de adventu Imperatoris auderet verbum facere, nisi quum Alexander P. præcepisset."

[2] *Ib.* "Nos vero ex jure debiti, quo Imperio tenemur adstricti, parati sumus vobis, ut Domino, in temporalibus obedire. . . . Sed quia nostrorum estis corporum non animarum Dominus, nolumus pro vobis animas nostras perdere. . . . Quare noscat Imperialis discretio quod nos de cetero Alexandrum in Catholicum Papam recipimus," etc. No doubt the exertions of the English and French envoys, who had also come to Venice and were anxious for ecclesiastical peace, helped the German prelates to take this strong stand. *Hist. D.*, c. 10, etc. The *Hist.*, c. 12, names Pontius, bishop of Clermont, and the abbot of Boneval as the agents of the kings of France and England, "qui ambo a Rege Franciæ et a Rege Angliæ missi sunt, hujus pacis assistere

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only policy, Frederick embraced it frankly, and commissioned Count Henry of Diessen to go to the Pope, and in his master's name take an oath to him that, from the time when he himself should come to Venice, he would faithfully observe the terms of the peace which the plenipotentiaries should have arranged with regard to the Church, the king of Sicily, and the Lombards.

The emperor comes to the Lido and to Venice.

Confidence was at once restored, the Lombards returned, the count took the oath,[1] and the Emperor was then conducted in great state to St. Nicholas' on the Lido. On the next day (Sunday, July 24) the Pope went early to St. Mark's, and despatched Hubald of Ostia and other cardinals to absolve Frederick and his counsellors from the sentence of excommunication long before passed upon them. The oath taken on this occasion by the chancellor Christian was characteristic of the man. With his hand on the Gospels he declared: "That all may know that I am Christian in name and in fact, I abjure Octavian of Crema and John of Struma and their supporters, and I acknowledge Alexander and his successors as the true Popes."[2]

After Alexander had said Mass in St. Mark's, he took

mediatores." There was also present Godfrey, "Clericus et Nuncius Regis Angliæ cum aliis clericis Angliæ, cum hominibus XLII." According to Frederick, Pontius and the abbot were most instrumental in bringing about the peace. Writing to the General Chapter of the Cistercians, he said: "Notum autem vestræ religioni facimus quoniam, operantibus dilectis nostris viris magnæ sanctitatis atque discretionis P(ontio) episcopo Claromontano, et abbate Bonæ-vallis . . . qui studiose et efficaciter pro pace . . . inter nos et . . . Alexandrum," etc. Ep. ap. Gervase, *Chron.*, 1177, i. p. 269, R. S. See also his letters to Abbot Hugh, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xvi. p. 698.

[1] "Ego comes Dedo . . . ex mandato imperatoris juro in anima sua quod ex quo venerit Venetias . . . faciet jurari . . . quod pacem Ecclesie sicut disposita est per mediatores et scripta, et pacem regis Sicilie . . . et treugam Lombardorum . . . bona fide servabit." Boso, p. 439. This oath was taken on July 22. *Cf.* ep. Alex. 1304 of July 26.

[2] Rom., p. 231.

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his place on a lofty throne which had been erected for him in front of the cathedral, and there, surrounded by a host of bishops, he awaited the arrival of the emperor. Presently, about nine o'clock, the ducal gondola came alongside the Molo (the *Marmoreum*), the landing-place near St. Mark's.[1] It contained the emperor, the Doge, and the cardinals who had removed the sentence of excommunication. Between two gigantic masts which bore large splendid banners of St. Mark,[2] the emperor stepped on shore, and, escorted "by seven archbishops and canons of the cathedral," he made his way to the Pope's throne through the enormous crowds which the solemn occasion had drawn together.[3]

Frederick's submission, July 1177.

When he came before the aged pontiff, "touched," says the Norman archbishop, "by the Holy Spirit, he venerated God in Pope Alexander,"[4] and, casting aside his imperial mantle of purple, threw himself at his feet. With tears in his eyes the Pope raised him up, and kissed him on the cheek. The *Te Deum* was at once intoned by the Germans, whilst the emperor led the Pope inside the cathedral to receive his blessing.[5] After offering not a few presents at

[1] "Litus autem maris quod dicitur Marmoreum, prope ecclesiam erat, silicet ad jactum lapidis." *Rel.*, p. 11.

[2] The Venetian masts are thus described in the *Relatio*: "Erecta sunt etiam duo ligna magna abiegna mire altitudinis ex utraque parte littoris, in quibus vexilla S. Marci mirabili opere contexta et longitudine sua terram tangentia dependebant."

[3] "Quantus erat clerus, baculus, crux, mitra, galerus,
Pontificum numerus, describere nescit Omerus."
Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frid.*, c. 39.

[4] "Tactus divino Spiritu, Deum in Alexandro venerans, . . . rejecto pallio, ad pedes Papæ totum se extenso corpore inclinavit." Rom., p. 231. "Pallium rubeum . . . deposuit," etc. *Rel.*, p. 11. "Deposita clamide," etc. Boso, *l.c.* A lozenge of red and white marble in the vestibule opposite the central doorway marks to this day where this reconciliation took place.

[5] "A Teutonicis Te Deum . . . est excelsa voce cantatum." Rom., *ib.* The *Rel.* says the Pope intoned the hymn "with ringing of bells." "Imposuit ymnum: te Deum . . . cum pulsione signorum."

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the altar, the emperor adjourned to the palace of the Doge, and the Pope to that of the Patriarch.

The next day, at the special request of the emperor, the Pope sang High Mass in St. Mark's. So great was the crowd in the cathedral that a number of laymen had taken possession of the sanctuary itself. Thereupon with great humility, as we are reminded, Frederick himself, laying aside his mantle, assumed the position of verger, drove the laymen from the choir, and cleared the way for the pontiff as he advanced in solemn procession to the altar.[1] Taking his place in the sanctuary, and listening to the chanting of his countrymen,[2] the emperor heard the Pope's Mass with great devotion. After the singing of the Gospel the Pope preached to the people, and commissioned the Patriarch of Aquileia to explain his sermon to Frederick in German. When the *Credo* had been sung, the Emperor and the princes of the Empire made their offerings at the Pope's feet. At the close of Mass, Frederick led the Pope to the door of the church, held his stirrup whilst he mounted his white horse, led it for a short distance, and then, with the Pope's blessing, returned to the palace of the Doge.[3]

[1] "Imperator autem, ut humilitatem, quam corde conceperat, opere demonstraret, . . . pallium deposuit, manu virgam accepit, laicos de choro expulit," etc. Rom., p. 232.

[2] Whether because they were already distinguished for their musical skill, or whether out of compliment to Barbarossa, Germans were appointed to sing at the Pope's Mass. *Ib.*

[3] Rom., *ib.*; *Rel.*, p. 11. Boso (p. 440) says that the Pope would not allow the emperor to act as groom, and that on the following day, when they had a private meeting, they even seasoned their conversation with jokes: "Post affectuosa colloquia et mixtos seriis temperatos et sine detrimento dignitatis jocos," etc. *Cf.* ep. Alex. 1304, whence it appears that the fact is that the emperor at least held the Pope's stirrup. "Cum ascenderemus palafredum . . . stapham tenuit et omnem honorem et reverentiam nobis exhibuit, quam predecessores ejus nostris consueverunt antecessoribus exhibere."

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The solemn ratification of the peace, Aug. 1177.

It was on the first of August that the peace for which many had worked so hard was solemnly ratified at a council held in the great hall of the Patriarch's palace in presence of the Pope, the emperor, the envoys of the king of Sicily, the rectors of the Lombards, and a large number of people.[1] Alexander opened the proceedings by an address in which he thanked God for bringing the emperor back again to the fold of the Church. Frederick in his turn thanked God, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, for sending wise men from the ends of the earth to remove the darkness from his heart; for he had found, he said, that the imperial dignity had not saved him from the vice of ignorance in which designing men had involved him. For the future, however, he would recognise Alexander and his successors as lawful Popes, and would grant peace to the Church, to the king of Sicily, and to the Lombards as had been arranged.[2]

Thereupon Count Henry of Diessen came forward, and on the emperor's behalf and on that of his son King Henry swore to keep peace with the Church, and to observe the fifteen years' truce with William of Sicily and the six years' truce with the League. After this oath had been repeated by twelve of the ecclesiastical and lay princes of the Empire, corresponding oaths were taken by the opposite party, viz., by the envoys of the king of Sicily and by the rectors of the Lombards.[3]

The taking of the oaths was followed by the formal submission to the Pope of a very large number of the ecclesiastical supporters of the schism, who abjured the

[1] The authority for a council lasting fourteen days is *Ann. Pegavenses*, an. 1177, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. With it *cf. Gesta Henrici*, ii. (Benedict of Peterborough), an. 1177.

[2] Rom., p. 233 f.

[3] *Ib.*, and Boso, *l.c.*

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The Emperor and the Pope under State umbrellas.
The Pope is offering the third umbrella to the Doge on his left.
(From a fifteenth century MS.)

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antipopes and proclaimed their ordinations null and void.[1]

But the peace was not concluded without many heart-burnings. Conrad of Mainz was not unnaturally aggrieved that the former schismatic Christian should be allowed to retain the archbishopric which really belonged to him. The Pope, however, made a strong appeal to him, assuring him that Frederick would not make peace with the Church unless Christian were allowed to retain the see. Thus appealed to, Conrad resigned his see, declaring that it belonged to his office as a bishop to seek not his own but the interests of Jesus Christ.[2] To compensate him, however, the Pope and the emperor agreed to give him the see of Salzburg, which its incumbent, Albert, the son of the king of Bohemia, had also resigned into Alexander's hands.[3]

Violators of the peace excommunicated.

On the last day of the council, which was on the vigil of the Assumption (Sunday, August 14), the Church of St. Mark's was once again filled to overflowing. After the solemn recitation of the Litanies and the delivery of a long sermon on the peace, the Pope ordered lighted candles to be placed in the hands of all present, and then proclaimed: "In the name of God Almighty, of Blessed Mary ever Virgin,

[1] Boso, p. 441, gives the names of many of the more important prelates from Christian of Mainz to the abbot of Cluny, and adds: "Aliorum vero resipiscentium scismaticorum multitudinem nominare penitus ignoramus." *Cf. ib.*, p. 443, and *Rom.*, p. 236.

[2] *Rom.*, p. 235.

[3] Because, says Romuald, he had been guilty of simony and other crimes; because, say various annals of Austria on the other hand, though a man "of great virtue (*vir prime innocentie*)," he was disliked by the emperor, and resigned "pro bono pacis et concordiæ." *Cf. Ann. Austriæ, Contin. Claustroneoburg.*, an. 1177, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 631. *Cf. ib., Contin. Cremifannensis*, p. 545, and *Vita Gebehardi et success.*, c. 28, *ib.* p. 45. The Pope himself (ep. 1315) says he resigned of his own free will, seeing that he could not gain Frederick's goodwill. See also Magnus of Reichersberg, *Chron.*, 1177, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 505.

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of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul and all the Saints, we excommunicate, and separate from the bosom of Mother Church all persons who shall dare in any way to break the peace which has been made between the Church and the Empire, and the king of Sicily and the Lombards. And as these candles are extinguished, so may their souls be deprived of the bright vision of eternal life." The candles were at once dashed to the ground, and with a loud voice the emperor, along with the others, cried, "So be it! So be it!"[1]

A day or two after this imposing ceremony letters were sent to the Pope from the emperor and from the chief princes of the Empire setting forth the blessings brought by the peace, and their firm intention of standing by it; for, said Frederick, "the imperial majesty has been established on the earth by the King of Kings that

[1] Rom., p. 239. It will, no doubt, have been noted that we have given full credence to the narrative of Romuald in all these transactions. This we have done because of his solemn asseveration that he told the truth about the great peace, and because his narrative is corroborated by the other contemporary documents. "Hæc autem omnia quæ prædiximus ita gesta fuisse nulli dubitationis vel incredulitatis scrupulum moveant, quia Romualdus II. salernitanus archiepiscopus, qui vidit et interfuit scripsit hæc et sciatis quia verum est testimonium ejus." It will also perhaps have been noticed that nothing has been said in the text about any secret flight of Alexander to Venice, nor of his putting his foot on the neck of Barbarossa, etc. These later stories are as opposed to the clear and consistent narratives of all contemporary histories as to the respective characters of Alexander and Frederick, and do not deserve lengthy refutation or even mention. In all probability it was the signal triumph of the Pope that suggested the story of Alexander's treading "on the lion and on the dragon." The story is flouted by all serious modern authors. *Cf.* Robertson, *Hist. of the Christ. Ch.*, v. p. 199 n.; Hodgson, *The Early Hist. of Venice*, p. 317 ff. Balzani, *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*, does not even mention these fables. But the idea of a Pope with his foot on an emperor's neck would appeal to an artist, and so about the year 1400 Spinello Aretino adorned the walls of the Palazzo Publico of Siena with frescoes representing this supposed scene and other real scenes from the life of Pope Alexander.

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through it the whole world may enjoy the blessings of peace."[1]

Trouble about the lands of the Countess Matilda.

But though the most important clauses of the Pact of Anagni had thus been solemnly ratified, Frederick was loath to agree to all the others. Hence before the full text of the peace was finally elaborated,[2] and before he left Venice, he approached the Pope with a view to procuring the modification of clause six of the Pact. This clause had set forth that "the emperor was to restore to the Pope and to the Roman Church the lands of the Countess Matilda as they were held by the Roman Church in the days of the Emperor Lothaire, of King Conrad, and even during (part of) the reign of the Emperor Frederick himself."[3] But Frederick maintained that they belonged essentially to the Empire (*ad jus imperii*). He also, on the same grounds, objected to the Pope's keeping Sussubium,[4] which had

[1] Boso, p. 441.

[2] The full text of the Peace of Venice as it finally left the hands of the commissioners (*mediatores*) may be read ap. Theiner, *Cod. diplom. S. Sed.*, i. 22 f., or ap. Kehr, *l.c.*, p. 114 ff., and Doeberl, *l.c.*, p. 243 ff. An English version of it may be found ap. Henderson, *Hist. Docs. of the M. Ages*, p. 425 ff. It should be compared with the Pact of Anagni. The text of the treaty with Sicily is given by Rom., p. 238.

[3] Already during the course of the negotiations Frederick had tried to make the Pope agree to let him keep the revenues of the said lands for the fifteen years during which the truce with Sicily was to last, on the understanding that then the question of the rights of the Church and the Empire to the said lands should be gone into. To the retention of the revenues the Pope agreed on the condition that at the close of the fifteen years the Church should be again put into possession of the lands before the question of ownership rights was entered upon. But to this Frederick would not agree. *Cf.* Rom., p. 224 f.

[4] Castrum Sussubium, otherwise called castrum Brettaniorum (or Bretanorum), which is described as the "capud et sedes totius comitatus" (Boso, p. 441), is generally identified with Castrum Caro in the mountains above Forli, where are the remains of a strong castle. Boso, *ib.*, says that of old it belonged to the Roman Church ("ab antiquo juris b. Petri fuerit"), because it formed part of Pippin's donation to the Church. *Cf. supra*, i. pt. ii. p. 313 f.

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been lost to the Roman Church, but which had recently been restored to it by the last of its counts.[1] Not to endanger the peace, Alexander agreed to submit the question of these territories to a number of commissioners to be appointed by the emperor and himself.[2] So little, however, was Frederick even now prepared to be baulked of his will that not long after he had left Venice (September 18) he took forcible possession of Sussubium, and, despite Alexander's protest, kept it.[3]

Alexander returns to Anagni.

The Pope did not immediately follow the emperor's example in leaving Venice, but thence directed both the restoration of the various ecclesiastics who had been expelled from their positions during the course of the schism, and the expulsion of intruders.[4] As a mark of special affection for the Venetians, whose loyalty had so much contributed to make the peace negotiations successful, Alexander granted to all who visited the Church of St. Mark's on Ascension day, and who confessed their sins and were truly sorry for them, a plenary indulgence, or, as he is said to have expressed it, "an indulgence *de pœna et de culpa*."[5]

[1] Boso, p. 441. [2] *Ib.*, p. 443. [3] *Ib.*, p. 444. [4] *Hist. D.*, c. 11.

[5] "Hic indulgentiam de pœna et de culpa omnibus dedit vere pœnitentibus et confessis, si quis ad ecclesiam S. Marci in die Ascensionis . . . peregre fuerit." *Hist. D.*, c. 11. This is the first mention I have found of this famous phrase: "indulgentiam de pœna et a culpa," about which H. C. Lea has dogmatised, if not with ignorance at least with prejudice. It is in accordance with Catholic doctrine and with common sense that a sin for which one is truly sorry is pardoned by God, *i.e.*, the guilt of it, its *culpa*, is blotted out. To one who is thus sorry and who has confessed his sin to a priest, this forgiveness is confirmed to him by the *absolution* given him by the priest. But it is also Catholic doctrine that a sin will be followed by punishment, eternal or temporal, according to the gravity of the sin, and that the eternal punishment of a grievous sin is cancelled by God when the sin is forgiven. But temporal punishment may still remain after the *culpa*, and the eternal punishment have been condoned by God. It is, moreover, Catholic doctrine that the Church has power to remit this *temporal*

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After his reception of Frederick at the doors of St. Mark in July, Alexander had also been occupied in informing the Christian world of that peace concerning the conclusion of which he had felt doubts even as late as April 30, when he was in Ferrara.[1] As early as July 26 and the four following days he despatched letters to the archbishop of York and to other archbishops, to various abbots and to the general chapter of the Cistercian Order, to tell them of his reconciliation with Frederick.[2] And a few days before he left Venice he was engaged in instructing one of his legates to inform the Lombard League of certain details connected with the six years' truce between it and the emperor.[3] At length, after receiving many presents from the Venetians,[4] Alexander and a large portion of his suite left their city on board the galleys which they had provided for them (October 16), and by December 14 the Pope was back again in Anagni.[5]

punishment, viz., the *pœna*. This is done by the granting of an indulgence. Hence an indulgence "de pœna et a culpa" denotes the forgiveness of *temporal punishment* (*pœna*) to one who by sorrow and confession has obtained from God forgiveness of his guilt (*culpa*). *Cf.* Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee*, p. 324 ff.; and *H. C. Lea's Historical Writings: A Critical Enquiry*, p. 128 ff., New York, 1909. This last work is a very bad translation from the German of P. M. Baumgarten. See also *Indulgences, Sacramental Absolutions, etc.*, p. 95, by T. L. Green, London, 1872.

[1] See ep. 1279 from Ferrara for the information of Louis: "Cum, etsi capitula hinc inde producta fuerint, et spes habeatur quod pax debeat reformari, 'nullam tamen certitudinem pacis perficiendæ habemus."

[2] Epp. 1304–8. In his letter to the archbishop of Rheims he expresses his special thanks to the French king for his exertions on his behalf, and on July 31 (ep. 1310) sent to Louis himself a letter full of the warmest expressions of thanks.

[3] Jaffé, 12,952, quoting Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.*, iv. 287.

[4] *Hist. D.*, c. 11.

[5] Boso, p. 443; *Hist. D.*, c. 11. The next chapter of the *Historia* gives a most interesting list of the chief persons, with their suites, whom the peace negotiations had brought to Venice. As the suites of some

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Results of the Peace of Venice.

If the Peace of Venice, with its complement the Peace of Constance (1183),[1] was one of the most memorable events in the history not only of Italy, but in that of the world—for it was the beginning of the legal grants of personal freedom to the great masses of the people—it was of the first importance to Pope Alexander. Though, despite it, he failed to keep Sussubium, and was unable to get control over the lands of the Countess Matilda,[2] he had won imperial recognition of the inherent freedom of the Church, and of the sovereign rights of the Pope within the city of Rome and in the other parts of the Patrimony.[3] The emperor had practically acknowledged that the Church was independent within its own sphere, that there was a spiritual sword as well as a temporal sword, and that he had no right to handle the former. Frederick had, moreover, professed that it was no part of the imperial prerogative to make or unmake Popes, and so Alexander was now able freely to exercise those rights of supreme spiritual jurisdiction which his valid election had already conferred upon him. The Peace of Venice provided him both with the leisure and with the unhampered authority necessary to deal with the scandals which even in ordinary times are ever springing up, either as annuals or perennials, among the children of men, but which had increased apace

of the more important members of the clerical and lay nobility ran from 100 to 300 men, it is not suprising to find that the combined suites numbered several thousands.

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 247.

[2] The commission agreed upon by the Pope and the emperor to settle the vexed question of their respective rights over Matilda's possessions does not appear ever to have been organised.

[3] Commissioned by the emperor, Christian of Mainz went, immediately after the peace, into the Patrimony (Romania, *i.e.*, more or less the old Duchy of Rome) to arrange for the restoration of the papal regalia that had been seized by the emperor. *Cf.* Rom., p. 240, and Boso, p. 443.

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during the schism.[1] Finally, by its restoring to the Popes the right of choosing the Prefect of Rome, Alexander had, as far as the emperor was concerned at least, recovered his power of supreme jurisdiction in his city.

Alexander back in Rome, 1178.

What he had thus regained from the emperor by treaty he was soon to recover in fact from the Roman people. Beholding the collapse of the schism, and reflecting on the spiritual and temporal loss which the absence of the Pope from Rome entailed upon its inhabitants,[2] the Romans sent an embassy to Alexander imploring him, in the name of the clergy, Senate, and people, to return to his city. But, mindful of their proverbial fickleness, and of how they had treated him soon after they had brought him back from France, Alexander would not consent to return to them until they had given him substantial guarantees of good faith. After much discussion among them it was finally agreed, "by the decision of the whole people," that the senators should do homage to the Pope, that they should surrender the sovereign rights (*regalia*) of the Pope which they had usurped, and that they should not interfere with anyone who came to see him.[3]

[1] The canons of the general council of the Lateran, which Alexander was soon to hold (1179), will show of what nature some of these scandals were.

[2] "Attendens etiam de absentia . . . pontificis tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus per longa tempora gravissimam incurrisse jacturam," etc. Boso, p. 445.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 446. This submission of the Romans was no doubt facilitated by the presence in their neighbourhood of the warlike Christian, archbishop of Mainz, whom the emperor had left near Rome in the interest of the Pope: "Maguntino . . . circa partes Romæ ad P. Alex. obsequium derelicto." Rom., p. 241. Indeed, certain German annals (*e.g.*, *Ann. Pegav.*, 1178, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 261) assert that Christian actually escorted him to Rome, and that his troops accompanied the Pope when he made his first *stations*. Afterwards, they say, Alexander sent back the imperial envoys with presents for their master.

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When representative men had sworn to observe these terms, Alexander left Tusculum for Rome on the feast of St. Gregory (March 12), and was received with more honour "than had been paid to any Pope within the memory of man." At some distance from the city he was met by the clergy bearing banners and crosses, by the senators and the nobility accompanied by the militia of the city in all their martial accoutrements and with trumpets blowing, and by the mass of the people bearing olive branches, and chanting the customary "laudes." So great were the crowds gazing upon the face of the Pope as though it were "the face of Jesus Christ, whose place on earth he bore,"[1] and endeavouring to kiss his feet, that his white palfrey could scarcely make its way among them, and his hand was wearied with bestowing blessings. It was not till three o'clock in the afternoon that he reached the Lateran gate. Thence he went at once to the church that bears the same name, and, having once again blessed the assembled multitude, retired to rest.[2] His ten years of exile in the Campagna were over. At this point, with the remark that henceforth Alexander performed the regular *stations* going to Sancta Croce on *Lætare* Sunday and to St. Peter's on Passion Sunday, and that, as was then generally customary with sovereigns, he wore his crown on Easter Sunday,[3] not only does the narrative of Boso come

[1] "Vultum ejus intuentes tamquam vultum Jesu Christi cujus vices in terris gerit," etc. Boso, *ib.*

[2] *Ib.* *Cf.* Rom., p. 241.

[3] Easter Sunday was one of the days fixed by custom for the wearing of the crown. *Cf.* the *Ordines Romani XI. and XII.*, cc. 45 and 35 respectively. These two books of ceremonies were addressed, one to Celestine II. and the other to Celestine III. Hence it must be by a slip that Peter Mallius in his *Hist. basilicæ Vatic.*, addressed to Alexander himself, fails (c. 27) to give Easter Sunday as one of the days on which the Pope has to wear his crown. According to the *Ordo Romanus XII.* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1063), compared with *Ordo XI.*

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to an end, but unfortunately the *Liber Pontificalis* also, at least till the fifteenth century.

and Peter Mallius (*ib.*, p. 1053, and p. 1057), the days on which the Pope was crowned at this period were the feasts of the Quatuor Coronati, St. Martin ("ubi dicitur titulus Æquitii") and St. Clement, the second, third, and fourth Sundays of Advent (Canite tuba, Jerusalem, and Gaudete), Christmas day, St. Stephen's, the Epiphany, the fourth Sunday of Lent (Lætare Jerusalem), Easter Sunday, the Ascension, Pentecost, St. Peter's, St. Sylvester's, and his own anniversary.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST YEARS OF ALEXANDER. THE FINAL CLOSE OF THE SCHISM BY THE DEATH OF THE ANTIPOPE. THE ELEVENTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, THE THIRD OF THE LATERAN (1179). THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

Submission of the antipope, Calixtus III., 1178.

AMONG the many others whose position was affected by the Peace of Venice was the antipope John of Struma. Not feeling safe in Viterbo, as its people were turning against him, he fled to Monte Albano (near Nomentum, Mentana),[1] on the advice of John, the exiled prefect of Rome. John Maledictus, a member of the house of Vico, which protected Calixtus, had been appointed prefect by the emperor but had been expelled by the citizens.[2] But the antipope and the ex-prefect had now the energetic Archbishop Christian to deal with. His troops at once laid siege to Albano, while he himself, in the Pope's name, received the submission of the people of Viterbo. The ex-prefect, however, and the nobles of Viterbo would not submit, but allied themselves to the son of the marquis of Montferrat and asked the help of the senators and people of Rome. Thereupon the Romans, "after their wonted manner," says Archbishop Romuald, "not keeping their faith with the Pope," despite his prohibition, marched out to ally themselves with the nobles. To avoid bloodshed Alexander sent word to the chancellor Christian and to the people of Viterbo to remain within the walls. His wise

[1] The lord of Albano received him in the hope of selling him to Alexander. Rom., p. 241.

[2] Boso, p. 422. *Cf. supra*, p. 133.

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advice was obeyed, and the Romans, not daring to attack the strong city, after ravaging the country round, returned to their city, and the opposition of the nobles collapsed. John Maledictus made his peace with the Pope, and recovered his position as prefect.[1]

After Viterbo had thus completely fallen under the sway of the Pope, the situation of the antipope became desperate. Leaving Monte Albano, he made his way to Tusculum, whither, to avoid the August heat of Rome, Alexander had retired. Throwing himself at the Pope's feet, he renounced the schism and implored forgiveness. Without a word of reproach, Alexander received him as the prodigal son (August 29), for some time kept him by his side, and then made him governor of Benevento.[2]

Another antipope is soon degraded, 1179-80.

About a year later, soon after some of his enemies had by surprise captured and imprisoned Christian,[3] a few of the unruly barons of the Campagna had the effrontery to attempt to set up another antipope. In September (1179) they set up a certain Lando of Sezza as Innocent III. His chief supporter was a brother of the antipope Octavian. Out of hatred of Alexander, this baron gave Lando a strong castle which he had at Palombara, and from which the antipope ravaged the neighbourhood. Cardinal Hugo, however, in a few months contrived to get possession of the fortress by bribing its defenders, and the miserable Lando, with his chief adherents, was shut up for life in the monastery of La Cava (January 1180).[4]

[1] Rom., p. 241. "Præfectus . . . confirmata sibi præfectura, ejus (Alexander's) homo devenit."

[2] *Ib.* These are almost the last words of the most valuable chronicle of Romuald of Salerno. *Cf. Anon. Cas.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 69; *Chron. Ceccan.*, 1178.

[3] *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict of Peterborough), an. 1179, i. 243, R. S. Christian was captured "about the feast of St. Michael (September 29)."

[4] *Chron. Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1179; *Chron. Ceccan.*, *ib.*; *Anon. Cas.*, *ib.*, p. 70.

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Alexander summons a General Council, 1178.

Meanwhile, Alexander was fully occupied in making preparations to hold a General Council. He was induced to summon such a council not merely because a clause in the Treaty of Anagni (n. 25) enacted that first a large council and afterwards a general council (*generale concilium*) should excommunicate all who should break the Peace of Venice, but because he thought that the influence of such an assembly would be a powerful means of counteracting the abuses which the schism had suffered to grow.[1] For, adds the English historian, Roger of Hoveden, "when a violent disease is rapidly making its way to the very vitals of the world (*animæ*), there is no remedy so efficacious as the agreement of numbers."[2]

Accordingly, in the month of September the Pope despatched letters and legates in all directions to summon to Rome for the first Sunday in the Lent of 1179 "the bishops of the East and West and of all Italy."[3] The legates sent to this country were Albert de Suma and Peter of St. Agatha. The first had to summon the prelates of Normandy and England, and the second those of "Scotland, Galloway, the Isle of Man, and Ireland." But before Peter was allowed by Henry to pass through England he had to take an oath that, during his legation, he would not attempt anything to the detriment of the kingdom, and that he would return through it on his homeward journey.[4]

[1] Rom., p. 241. "Considerans (Alex.) vero, quod occasione schismatis . . . multa mala inde ecclesiæ provenissent," etc.

[2] *Chron.*, an. 1178, ii. p. 167, R. S.

[3] Rom., *ib.* *Cf. Chron. Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*: "Papa subdiacones cardinales ad submonendum concilium . . . per totum pene Christianissimum (sic) dirigit." "Per universas nationes Deo et ecclesiæ Romanæ subjectas," says the *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), i. 206, R. S. *Cf.* epp. Alex. ap. Jaffé, 13,070 and 13,098-9.

[4] *Gesta, ib.*, pp. 209-10. The prelates were summoned "vi. obediențiæ." Those of our bishops whom age or infirmity prevented from going in person, sent delegates and money for the Pope: "data

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The preparations for the council made a great impression all over Europe. "Behold," wrote Abbot Peter de la Celle to the chancellor-cardinal Albert, "how the great hen (*gallina grandosa et fetosa*) of apostolic authority, in virtue of submissive obedience, gathers its chickens beneath the wings of its protection and wisdom. . . . Behold how the aged Jacob, full of days (Alexander III.), after his long wrestle with the angel of schism, looking for the salvation of God, calls his sons to bless them. . . . Great indeed is the preparation for the Roman Council." The worthy abbot only hopes that the council will not have been called in vain, but that it will cut down "the insane superstitions" that are daily springing up all over the Christian world.[1]

The General Council of the Lateran, 1179.

As the result of the Pope's vigorous action there assembled in the Lateran in the month of March over three hundred bishops from all parts and a very large number of abbots, making altogether about a thousand prelates.[2] In addition to this very great number of bishops and abbots and to a host of inferior clergy, there were also present "envoys from nearly all the emperors, kings, and princes of the

pecunia . . . secundum facultates eorum." *Ib.* William of Newburgh (*Hist. Ang.*, iii. c. 2) preposterously contends that it was "Roman avarice" which moved Alexander to summon the council, and that the money just alluded to was rather insolently and basely exacted than offered: "Pecuniæ impudentius turpiusque exactæ quam præstitæ." There is no mention of money in the bulls of Alexander regarding the council, but it is quite possible that individual papal legates may on their own authority have at times endeavoured to exact money in place of attendance at the council.

[1] Ep. ii. 89, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, p. 536.

[2] The numbers of the bishops are given differently by different historians. *Cf.* Hefele, *Concil.*, vii. p. 499 ff., Fr. ed. *Cf.* also Watterich, ii. p. 642 n. Some of the bishops were very poor. We read of two Scotch bishops one of whom had but one horse, and the other, who came on foot, but one attendant. One Irish bishop told Henry the scholastic of Bremen that his sole revenue consisted of three cows, and that when they ceased to give milk his people gave him fresh ones. *Cf. Ann. Stadenses*, an. 1179, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

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whole of Christendom."[1] The eleventh General Council was really a magnificent Diet of the Christian world. Almost all that we know about the work of this august assembly is that it held three sessions, and that at its last (March 19) it issued some twenty-eight important canons called by our historians "the decrees of Pope Alexander."

Its decrees.

Of these enactments, which by their practical worth reflect such credit on this great Christian Parliament, and which give us such a valuable insight into the customs and aspirations of Europe, only the more important can be named here. The evils of the late schism naturally turned the thoughts of the assembled Fathers to the consideration of the means to be taken to prevent its recurrence. It was resolved, for instance, that the candidate elected by two-thirds of the cardinals should be recognised "by the universal Church." This was decreed without prejudice to the custom regulating elections in other churches where a simple majority was sufficient; for, ran the decree, if any dispute should arise with regard to such elections, it can be settled by the decision of a superior. "But a special rule is made for the Roman Church because recourse cannot be had to a superior."[2] The ordinations and ecclesiastical acts generally of the recent antipopes were declared null and void.[3] Various regulations were

[1] *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), i. pp. 221–2, R. S. Among those present at this council was the historian of the Crusades, William, archbishop of Tyre. *Cf.* his *Hist.*, xxi. 26. One of the envoys (the abbot Nectarius) of the Greek emperor Manuel showed his taste by delivering a polemic against the Pope and the Latins which gained for him among his party the title of "Olympic victor." *Cf.* Hefele, *l.c.*, p. 512, and Muralt, *Essai de Chron. Byzant.*, p. 210. According to Roger Hoveden (*l.c.*, p. 171), only four bishops from England attended the council, on the plea that the province was exempted by privilege from sending more. His assertion, however, is not consistent with that of William of Newburgh, which we have just cited.

[2] Canon 1.

[3] Can. 2.

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issued with regard to bishops. They were to be men of good life, and not less than thirty years of age;[1] they were forbidden to be a burden on visitation by travelling with a large following.[2] An attempt was also made to stop abuses in the matter of appeals; abuses in which all parties participated,—the inferior clergy, the episcopate, and the See of Rome itself. Superiors on the one hand were forbidden to try to hinder proper appeals by suspending or excommunicating the appellant, and subordinates on the other hand were forbidden to appeal before their case had been examined.[3] But nothing was done to stop that abuse of appeals to Rome about which St. Bernard had complained so bitterly. No doubt, in view of the unrestrained tyranny then so widespread, it was felt not to be sound policy to hamper appeals to the Holy See. Simony in the administration of the sacraments or in any other form was strictly forbidden,[4] as was also the holding of several benefices by one person,[5] or the promising of one before it was vacant,[6] or the abuse of privileges by monks, templars, or hospitallers.[7]

Many canons also aimed at the protection and advancement of the interests of the poor. The terrible ravages, for instance, of mercenary soldiers, the forerunners of the Great Companies, were strongly denounced. These men, whom the council called men of Brabant, and of Aragon and Navarre, Basques and Coterells,[8] were a terror to all

[1] Can. 3. Parish priests were to be twenty-five years old at least.
[2] Can. 4. [3] Can. 6.
[4] Can. 7. *Cf.* can. 10, 15.
[5] Can. 13. [6] Can. 8. [7] Can. 9.
[8] The second part of can. 27: "De Brabantionibus et Aragonensibus, Navariis, Bascolis, Coterellis, et Triaverdinis." It has been said that they were called *Coterelli* from their use of a large knife called coterel, "while others derive it from *cotarius* or cottager, it being their habit to levy heavy contributions on people of that class. They were also called 'Ruptarii, Routiers or Ryters,' and were much employed

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peaceful citizens, so that even before this the Emperor Frederick had made an agreement with Louis of France to exterminate them (1171–72).[1] The council declared that they showed "no deference to churches or monasteries, and, indifferent to age and sex alike, spared neither widows and orphans, nor children and old men." The Fathers excommunicated them, and those who kept or supported them; and called on all Christians to take up arms against them; and granted an indulgence of two years' penance or more to such as thus fought against them.[2]

(Free education.) The eighteenth canon, also in favour of the poor, did the greatest honour to the Pope and his counsellors. It ran thus: Since the Church of God, like an affectionate mother, is bound to provide for the poor as well in matters which concern the body as in those which redound to the profit of the soul; therefore, lest the opportunity of reading and improving be denied to poor persons who cannot be assisted from the resources of their parents, we command that in each cathedral church some competent benefice be assigned to a master, who may gratuitously teach as well the clerks of the same church as indigent scholars. . . . In other churches, too, if any such provision shall have been made in former times, let it be restored. Let no one, moreover, make any demand whatsoever for licence to teach . . . nor interdict any competent person requesting such a licence."[3]

by the early kings of England." Riley's note to his translation of Roger of Hoveden, i. p. 503.

[1] The text of the Pact, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. p. 697. But though Barbarossa at times wished to get rid of these mercenaries, he employed them at other times. Robert de Monte, *Chron.*, 1182, denounces Archbishop Christian for his marching about with Brabançons, and Boso, p. 427, proclaims Barbarossa's own use of these brutal hirelings.

[2] The second half of can. 27. "Biennium de pœnitentia relaxamus."

[3] How essentially this was a "decree of Alexander" will be recognised from what has been said above, p. 9 f.

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The interests of the poor were also safeguarded by the decree against usurers,[1] and by the one which prohibited excessive taxation of Church property which was meant for the support of the clergy and of the poor and for the upkeep of the fabrics devoted to the use of both.[2] Even the poorest of the poor were not forgotten, and this glorious Diet of Christendom could find time to think of the poor lepers. "We, therefore, in our apostolic benignity," ran another decree,[3] "direct that wherever a sufficient number (of lepers) are congregated in a community, and are able to establish a church with a cemetery for themselves, and to enjoy the ministrations of a priest of their own, they shall be permitted to have one. . . . We also appoint that they be not compelled to pay tithes for their gardens and the pasturage of their animals." The renewal of the Truce of God was also to the benefit of the poor,[4] as was also the second part of a decree[5] directed against supplying ship-building material to the Saracens, which condemned both unwarrantable interference with Christians who "for business or other honourable causes are employed in navigation," and despoiling shipwrecked Christians of their goods. Again, also for the benefit of the poor and the defenceless and for the good of trade, this council, renewing a canon of the preceding ecumenical council,[6] decreed[7] continual security for clerics, pilgrims, merchants, and husbandmen with their cattle, and enacted that tolls were not to be increased nor imposed except by proper authority.

[1] C. 25.

[2] C. 19. The decree notes that when certain princes wanted to raise armies or fortifications, etc., "they wish all to be completed out of the goods devoted to the use of churches, of clerics, and of the poor of Christ."

[3] C. 23. [4] C. 21. [5] C. 24.

[6] C. 11 of the second General Council of the Lateran in 1139.

[7] C. 22.

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(Decree against the Albigensians.)

Just noticing that this council also forbade laymen to judge clerics,[1] we may pass on to the last decree, which was an important one. It was directed against the rapidly increasing sect of the Cathari, afterwards called more commonly Albigensians, in the south of France, a sect as inimical to sound morality as to the Catholic faith. It will be observed that this decree, while deprecating the use of severe corporal punishment in matters connected with religion, gives a hint to the heretics that it may be employed against them. The decree was as follows:[2] "Although the discipline of the Church, says Blessed Leo,[3] content with the judgment of priests, avoids punishments stained with blood, still it may be so assisted by the laws of Catholic princes that men may be often induced to seek a salutary remedy when they fear that corporal punishment is hanging over them. Wherefore, since in Gascony, in the Albigeois, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse and other places, the damnable perversity of the heretics (whom some call Cathari, or Paterini, or Publicani, and others by other names) has so gained in strength that they no longer practise their wickedness in secret, but proclaim their errors openly, and draw weak and simple people to agree with them,—we anathematise them and those who defend or receive or transact business with them. And if they die in their sins . . . Mass must not be offered up for them, nor can they receive Christian burial."[4]

(The Albigensians.)

Regarding these heretics more will be said when, under

[1] C. 14. "Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas, et ipsos etiam episcopos, suo judicio stare compellunt; eos qui de cetero id praesumpserint, a communione fidelium decernimus segregandos."

[2] C. 27.

[3] Ep. 4. *Cf.* the decrees of the council of Tours against these heretics. Ap. Boso, p. 409, and those of the Lateran council of 1139 against the Petrobrusians, *supra*, vol. ix. p. 61.

[4] We have often used Stevenson's translation of these decrees.

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Innocent III.,[1] it will be necessary to give an account of the Crusade against them. Meanwhile, it may suffice here to note that, calling themselves "Good Men" (Cathari or Puritans), they became at length known to others by the general name of Albigensians, from the town of Albi which was one of their principal centres. Although, from the fact that they declared it unlawful to take an oath, and because they appear to have imagined that it was lawful for them to say they believed one thing, and really to believe another, it was not easy to ascertain their exact creed, still there can be no doubt that we know the chief tenets held by most of these heretics. Many of them were examined very carefully, and condemned at a council held at Lombers,[2] a small town in the diocese of Albi, during the reign of Alexander, but whether in 1165 or 1176 is not clear. Despite this condemnation, the heresy continued to spread, and attracted the attention of the kings of France and England. At first, on the invitation of Raymond V., count of Toulouse,[3] they thought of expelling the heretics by force, but were persuaded "to send wise men to convert them to the Christian faith."[4] They accordingly, at the instance of the Pope,[5] despatched to Toulouse, Peter, cardinal-priest of St. Chrysogonus, and papal legate, several bishops, Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, and others (1178).

[1] See also under Lucius III., where Alexander's dealings with the Waldenses will be noticed. Whether he came into personal contact with their founder Peter Waldo is not certain.

[2] The acts ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, x. p. 1470. A careful abridgment of them is given by Roger Hoveden, *Chron.*, 1176, ed. R. S., i. 105 ff.

[3] He wanted the "material sword" of the king of France to be drawn against the heretics, as the spiritual availed nothing against them. See a letter of his, ap. Gervase, an. 1177, i. 270 f., R. S. *Cf.* ep. 28 of Abbot Henry.

[4] Roger, 1178, p. 150 ff.; *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), R. S., 198 ff. Abbot Henry was afterwards cardinal-bishop of Albano.

[5] Ep. 29 of Abbot Henry, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204.

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From the acts of the council of Lombers, and from the letters of Peter and Henry concerning the council they held at Toulouse, it may be safely laid down that the "Good Men" believed, like the Manichees of old, in two Gods, one good and the other bad. They rejected the Old Testament, and, while they had a kind of hierarchy among themselves, either did not recognise a regular priesthood at all, or held that if priests sinned they were incapable of performing their sacred functions, and were not to be obeyed. They objected to infant baptism, denied the Real Presence, and, worst of all, as far as practice at any rate was concerned, asserted that the state of matrimony was unholy.[1] Finally, like most other early followers of new heresies, they were abusive, and had recourse to violence as soon as they dared.[2]

With the *Acta* of the councils of Lombers and Toulouse

[1] Another most important contemporary witness to the hostility of these sectaries to matrimony is Egbert († 1184), a man of noble birth, first a canon, and then a monk of Schonau in the diocese of Trier. About 1164, after having most carefully informed himself of their teachings, he preached against the Cathari of the province of Cologne, and in their presence proclaimed that, according to them, the fruit in the garden of Eden which God forbade man to touch was the companion he had just made for him. Hence "the perfect" among the Cathari condemned in other men what had been the sin of Adam. *Cf.* his *Sermons*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 195, pp. 11–102. To the like effect in the same century (ad an. 1190) speaks Bonacursus of Milan, who had once been a *bishop* among the Cathari. *Cf.* his *Vita hæreticorum*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 775 ff. "Nullum credunt," he says, "in conjugio salvari posse," p. 777. Of the few foreign Publicani or Cathari who came to England, and were examined here, William of Newburgh (*Hist.*, ii. 13) says: "conjugium detestantes." On the flagrant immorality that often resulted from this doctrine, there is no need to dwell. One fatal consequence of it has been thus shortly expressed by our lively countryman Walter Map (*De Nugis*, i. c. 30), when speaking of these Cathari or Publicani: "Viri et feminæ cohabitant, nec apparent inde filii et filiæ." Hence Egbert (*l.c.*, Serm. V.) warns the Cathari from what he had seen that, if they condemned matrimony, which had been instituted by God and was in accordance with nature, they would fall into sins which were against nature.

[2] See the letters of Peter and Henry, ap. Roger and the *Gesta*.

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before him, and bearing in mind the letter of the church of Liège to Lucius II.[1] on the subject of the heretics of France, Alexander and the council had no choice but strongly to condemn and to threaten the Albigensians, some of whose tenets were so dangerous to public morality. Considering the ideas of the age on the absolute necessity of maintaining unity of faith in the interests of public order, inasmuch as the Church and European society were then practically one and the same, the wonder is not that the Council anathematised heretics whose doctrines were as opposed to fatherland as to faith,[2] but that they did not at once urge Louis and Henry to carry out their original intention, and to exterminate them.

The death of Alexander, 1181.

After the close of this important council, Alexander was, as we have seen, occupied for a time with the submission or subjugation of the antipopes, John and Lando. He was also concerned in endeavouring to secure loyal adhesion to the "Great Peace."[3] In July (1179) he left Rome to avoid the great heats, and spent the summer at Segni and Anagni. Never, however, did he return to the unruly city, but spent the remainder of his life first in that part of the Campagna which is south of Rome, and then in its more northerly portion. It is highly likely that the capture of Christian of Mainz, of which we have already spoken, emboldened the Romans to renew their turbulent opposition to Alexander, of whose peace-loving nature they took advantage, and who was too gentle to impose himself upon them by force.

At length, "worn out by old age and disease, Alexander

[1] *Supra*, vol. ix. p. 123.

[2] Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, iii. 8, tells of King Robert of France being distressed about the teachings of the predecessors of the Albigensians in the preceding century: "quoniam et *ruinam patriæ* revera et animarum metuebat interitum."

[3] See his letters to various Lombard bishops, June 8, 1180, ap. Jaffé, 13678–9.

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walked the way of all flesh and departed to the Lord"[1] on the last day of August 1181, at the small ravine-protected hill-town of Civita Castellana.[2]

His burial and epitaph.

The body of the late Pope was brought to Rome. It was not, however, met by a whole respectful people, but by a number of "senseless Romans (*insipientes Romani*), who, not content with flinging curses on Alexander's name, threw mud and stones on the bier which carried his corpse, and scarcely suffered it to be buried in the Lateran basilica."[3] It was placed "before the pulpit of the Church, *i.e.*," says John the Deacon, "close to the route we take when going to the curia."[4]

[1] *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), an. 1181, i. 282, R. S.

[2] For the place and date see Jaffé, sub 14,424. The continuator (*Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1181) of Sigebert describes Civita as "a certain possession of the Roman Church about the twentieth milestone from the city."

[3] Still the Anchin continuator.

[4] *De eccles. Lat.*, n. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1387. The visitor to the present Lateran basilica will find by the third pilaster of the right aisle nearest the nave not the original tomb of Alexander III., but the one erected to him "in the worst possible taste" (1660) by Alexander VII., who "Pontifici tanto civi suo pios cineres veneratus posuit." Over the tomb he placed the following inscription to his fellow-citizen:

"Alexandro III. Pont. Max.
Nobili Bandinella Gente Senis nato
Qui difficillimis temporibus
Eximia pietate
Summa prudentia ac doctrina
Ecclesiæ præfuit Annis XXII.
Invicta fortitudine atque constantia
Apostolicæ sedis jura
Auctoritatem Dignitatemque retinuit
Et post immensos labores
Ac solicitudines, Pace parta
Oecumenicum Lateranense concilium
Celebravit."

His other chief deeds are then enumerated:

"Vitæ demum et gloriæ cursum confecit."

For a description of the barocco monument of Alexander VII., see Gregorovius, *The Tombs of the Popes*, p. 46.

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Over his tomb was placed this epitaph:

"Lux cleri, decus ecclesiæ, pater urbis et orbis
Præsul Alexander clauditur hoc tumulo.
Luminis extincti patitur dispendia clerus
Cumque suo dolet urbs orbe fuisse patrem.
Non tamen ille ruit, quia virtus nescia casus
Creditur huic vitam perpetuasse viro.
Larga manus, pia cura gregis, pudor almus, honestas
Huic inter superos obtinuere locum.
Si quæras, quis et unde fuit, nomen sibi quondam
Rulandus, patria Tuscia, Sena domus.
Hunc festis suis junxere Felix et Adauctus,
Cum quibus est felix factus, adauctus eis."[1]

The epitaph sets forth that this tomb contains the mortal remains of Alexander, who was the glory of the clergy and of the Church, and the father of the city and the world. Hence the clergy, the city, and the world are in grief at their father's loss. He, however, has not perished, because imperishable virtue has given him life. His generosity, his care of his people, his modesty, and his uprightness have secured him a place among the angels. If you would know who and whence he was, learn that his name was Roland, and Tuscan Siena his birthplace. SS. Felix and Adauctus (August 30) escorted him to the joys of heaven; joined (*adauctus*) with whom he has been made happy (*felix*) with them.

What men have said of Alexander.

It would serve no useful purpose to comment on the manner in which "quidam insipientes Romani" have treated many of the best of the Popes from the days when some of them crucified St. Peter on a cross of wood to our own times, when some of their worthless descendants endeavour to crucify his successors by filthy prints and foul language. It will be more to the point to note that all responsible authors, whether ancient or modern, may be said to agree in praising both the character and deeds of Alexander III.

[1] Watterich, ii. 649.

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Gregorovius[1] regards Alexander as "one of the greatest of the Popes," whose long struggle with Frederick "covered him with glory," which was the more brilliant in that he "himself was endowed with true dignity." Alexander, however, himself was very modest about his own powers. Once, we are told,[2] when he was called a good Pope, he said that he would deserve to be so called "if he knew how to preach, and to administer justice, and to be a good confessor."

[1] *Rome*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 607. Robertson says he left "a name which is only not in the first rank among the Popes who have most signally advanced the power of their see." *Hist. of the Christian Ch.*, v. p. 203. Our countryman, Gervase of Tilbury, calls him: "Vir summi ingenii, et inter constancie et paciencie semitas discretissimus," etc. *Otia imper.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvii. p. 380.

[2] By Helinand († 1227), *Chron.*, l. 49, an. 1181, ap. *P. L.*, t. 212. His *Chronicle*, which extends to 1200, is really only a mass of notes.

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CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND (ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY), IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND. OTHER NATIONS AND FACTS.

AFTER some little hesitation, Henry II. of England, as we have seen, acknowledged Alexander III. as the true Pope. Hence, quite early in his pontificate, we find Alexander congratulating himself that "the magnificent Henry, king of the English, the most serene prince in the world, was firmly rooted in the unity of the Catholic Church."[1] And so, in order to give a proof of his good-will towards a loyal nation, we find him, also at an early date in his reign, canonising King Edward the Confessor at the request of Henry and the clergy of the country.[2] In thus complying with the wishes of "our most dear son in Christ, the illustrious Henry, king of the English," and of his prelates, the Pope declared that he was influenced by "that constant devotion and firm faith which they had displayed towards their mother, the holy Roman Church." But he was to discover very speedily that Henry, king of the English, was as undutiful a son as Frederick, king of the Romans, and that, if the two shepherds of the English flock, the Pope and the king, were to pipe different tunes, the greater number of the English prelates would dance to the music of the one who grasped the sword and held the money-bags.

Henry's profession of obedience to the Roman Church, as shown (*a*) by the words of the Pope;

When Henry wrote to beg the Pope to place his holy (*b*) by his own.

[1] Ep. 19, April 1, 1160.

[2] Ep. 34, February 7, 1161. *Cf. supra*, vol. iv. p. 385 f., and ix. 76. A little later (June 9, 1163), he conformed to the request of St. Thomas Becket and approved of the canonisation of St. Anselm of Canterbury. Ep. 169.

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ancestor King Edward "in the catalogue of the saints," he declared that "because it was the desire of his heart ever with sincere affection to love our holy mother the Roman Church, to be dutiful to her, and with disinterested affection always to be loyal to Alexander himself—it was also his wish that all those whom the favour of heaven had made subject to his power should honour the Apostolic See as the emblem (or depository) of Divine Power, and with him to show it due obedience."[1] Alexander was, however, destined to learn that Henry was prepared to be affectionate to the Roman Church, and to obey her when she was ready to conform to his views, but that he was quite ready to withdraw himself and his people also, if he could, from that subjection which he acknowledged was her due, when she found it necessary to oppose him. Similarly, the English bishops, when the barque of the Church in this land was in smooth waters, boldly professed to Alexander that "the Church of the English was devoted to the Roman Church above all things";[2] but when storms arose most of them were to give practical proof that their chief devotion was, after all, to their own interests, and not to those of the Church of God.

Translation of Gilbert Foliot, 1163.

Pleasant relations between England and Rome continued till the year 1163, and Alexander ceased not to grant favours to the English Church. In the first quarter of that year (March 19), acting in response to the joint request of Henry and Becket, he approved of the translation of the

[1] See the letter of Henry to Alexander, ap. Liverani, *Spicilegium Liberianum*, p. 631, Florence, 1863. "Et mihi quod cordi est matrem nostram sanctam Romanam ecclesiam sincera sæpe affectione diligere, officiis colere, ac personam vestram pura indesinenter amplecti devotione, universosque quos divina dignata est gratia meæ potestati subjicere volo apostolicam Sedem, ad instar divini numinis, honorare ac debitam ei obedientiam mecum pariter exhibere."

[2] So wrote the bishop of Ely, ap. *ib.*, p. 749.

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learned and austere though ambitious Gilbert Foliot from the see of Hereford to that of London.[1] But he had occasion, before the year had expired, to urge him to exhort the king to be more careful of the liberties of the Church than heretofore.[2] The clouds of the great storm which was to attract the attention of the whole of Europe, and was to end in the death of Thomas of London, had begun to gather, and the keen watchman on the highest tower of the Church had noted them.

Thomas (Becket) of London.

When Alexander was elected Pope, the Chancellor of England was the deacon Thomas of London, a man of about forty years of age, and already known "as the light of the clergy, the glory of the English people, the right hand of the king, and the model of virtue, . . . the one who swept away laws that were unjust, and made such as were equitable, . . . and to whom all had access save the wicked."[3] Besides being the right hand of King Henry II.,

[1] Epp. 141, 2. On Gilbert, see Froude, *Remains*, p. 38 ff.

[2] Ep. 204, September 4.

[3] John of Salisbury's poetical preface to his *Polycraticus*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 379 f. We may note here that there is some doubt as to the exact dates when the principal contemporary biographers of St. Thomas compiled their works, and as to their relations to each other. William Fitz-Stephens, who is said by some to have at times exalted his hero at the expense of truth, was perhaps the earliest and best of his biographers, as he probably wrote *c.* 1174–5. Herbert of Bosham is certainly the latest of these biographers, as he did not write till 1186. One of the most recent investigators into the saint's biographers, Halphen (*Les biographes de Thos. Becket*, ap. *Revue Histor.*, Sept.–Oct. 1909, p. 35 ff.), shows that there is a strong connection between the works of William of Canterbury (probably soon after 1176), the Anonymous of Lambeth, and John of Salisbury (1176), who all wrote about the same time. It would seem that John's *Life* was used by the other two writers. Halphen also groups together the productions of Edward Grim (1175–7), the Anonymous, generally known as Roger of Pontigny (*c.* 1177), and Garnier, the French poetical biographer, who finished writing in 1176. With regard to this second group, Halphen conjectures that Garnier used the other two authors, and also William of Canterbury, from the first group, and that Roger had Grim's

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he was also in his time the right hand of Archbishop Theobald (†1161), in whose service he had become acquainted with Rome and the papal court, and in whose company he had served his apprenticeship to exile.[1] He had already in an age of legists shown himself an able lawgiver; at a period when diplomacy was becoming a science, he had proved himself an accomplished diplomat; and in days when every man's trade was that of arms, he had displayed the qualities of a skilful and daring officer. In his person he was tall and handsome, in his manners courtly and engaging, splendid in his habits of life, chaste in his morals, and manly, frank, and straightforward in his character. He was the beloved of the poor and the weak, the admired of the great and of the small. Loyalty was of the very marrow of his bones, and, while never losing sight of God, he served first his king and then the Church with all the ardour of his noble and great soul. From being a lawyer, a statesman, and a soldier, he was to become a magnificent prelate, a self-denying saint, and an heroic martyr. He was indeed an Admirable Crichton—of whom we have in our own times seen more than a shadow in the late Cardinal Vaughan.[2]

book before him. In addition to the modern biographers already quoted, we would adduce R. H. Froude, *History of the Contest between Thos. à Becket and Henry II.*, Derby, 1839. This work, now scarce, forms the second volume of the second part of Froude's *Remains*. Should anyone doubt the justice of our estimate of St. Thomas, let him read this book, which is founded almost exclusively on the most authentic monuments of history, viz., contemporary letters. We have used his translations freely. The latest English biography is *Thomas Becket*, by W. H. Hutton, London, 1910. He had previously, 1899, published, under the title *S. Thos. of Cant.*, translations of extracts from the letters and chronicles that treat of the saint. Hutton's work is very sympathetic and picturesque.

[1] "Secundum post regem in quatuor regnis, quis te ignorat?" writes Abbot Peter de la Celle to the chancellor. Ep. i. 24, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202.

[2] See the fine *Life* of the cardinal by Snead-Cox, in two vols., London, 1910.

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Early XIII. century Fresco of St. Thomas of Canterbury
in Hanxton Church, near Cambridge.

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Henry II. of England.

If in some particulars Henry, the Angevin king of England, resembled his once trusted counsellor, he was in most respects very unlike the friend he grew to hate with all the fierce animosity of a nature which, so said discerning legend, had drawn its brutal passions from a demon ancestress. He was, it is true, learned above the princes of his time, and he was energetic with the feverish restlessness of a caged leopard. He was a brave soldier, a good lawyer, and a diplomat; but, if his diplomacy was able, it was absolutely unscrupulous. He was as ready to employ perjury as gold to gain his ends. If he had a zeal for justice, it was "to centre all things in himself;"[1] for, except to self, he was false to all—false to his friend, false to his wife, and false also to his word. Coarse was his body, and coarse were his passions. In his paroxysms of rage he would chew straw on the ground like a brute beast;[2] and his impurities led him to be accused to his face, in a conference at which the king of France was present, "of perfidy, adultery and incest."[3] He had no man's love, not even that

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hibernia Expug.*, i. 45.

[2] His confidential secretary, Peter of Blois, says he was a lion "or worse than a lion" when he was enraged. Ep. 75, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 230. *Cf.* especially his ep. 66 (ap. *ib.*, or *Materials*, vii. p. 570 ff.) for a favourable description of Henry.

[3] His accuser was Eudes, count of Brittany, who "deploravit quod filiam ejus virginem, quam illi pacis obsidem dederat, imprægnavit, ut *proditor*, *ut adulter*, *ut incestus*. Rex enim et uxor Eudonis de duabus sororibus nati sunt." Ep. of John of Salis., ap. *Materials*, vi. 455, or ep. 246. *Cf.* Radulfus Niger, *Chron.*, ii. p. 168, ed. Anstruther: "Corruptor pudicitiæ . . . primo in sponsas, post in filias procerum illecebras exercens, . . . reginam, ut liberius stupris vacaret . . . in domo carceris inclusit," etc. As Ralph suffered at Henry's hands for his adhesion to St. Thomas, he has probably been only too ready to exaggerate Henry's enormities. It should, moreover, be noted that the term "incest" had a wide application in the Middle Ages, and that the degree of relationship which existed between Henry and the daughter of Eudes, would not now justify the assertion that he had been guilty of "incest." *Cf.* also Walter Map, *De Nugis*, Distinct. v., c. 6, p. 226 ff.

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of his children, nor has any man at any time ever made a hero of him. Henry's was indeed a powerful nature, but too brutal to win either enduring love or lasting admiration. He was a ruler of men because he could fascinate them when he chose, and, moreover, could make them fear him. In almost its last words our earliest national chronicle says of him: "No man durst do other than good for the great awe of him."[1]

And yet this tyrant was not wholly cruel or always fierce. He was a friend of the gentle St. Hugh of Lincoln, was kind to the poor and good to "monasteries and charitable institutions."[2] The grip of his demon ancestress was not always able to harden the heart of Henry of Anjou.

Thomas of London is made archbishop of Canterbury, 1162.

After the death of Theobald, Henry made known to his faithful chancellor that he wished him to become archbishop in his stead. But his chancellor knew both himself and his king too well to be willing to accept the exalted position. He pointed out that his life had not been a fitting preparation for the episcopate, and, moreover, that his elevation would break their friendship. "I know," he said, "that in matters ecclesiastical you will ask many things from me which I shall not be able to concede, and then those who are jealous of me will take occasion of my refusal to incite you to withdraw your favour from me, and to hate me for ever."[3]

[1] *A. Sax. Chron.*, sub fin.

[2] *Cf.* H. Thurston, *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, pp. 83, 253 ff., 608, 113–5 n.; Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry II.*, p. 195 ff.

[3] Herb. de B., iii. c. 1. *Cf.* the Saga of Iceland, which here, as so often elsewhere, is no doubt giving us an extract from the lost work of Robert of Cricklade, prior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford. In suspecting Henry's designs against the Church, Thomas was only thinking as the English Church had long thought. At his accession we are told: "Eratque in ecclesia regni illius non modica trepidatio . . . propter collateralium ejus circa ecclesiasticæ libertatis jura notam malignitatem." *Anon.* (Roger), c. 15.

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To these prophetic words, however, Henry paid no heed. With the aid of the papal legate, Cardinal Henry of Pisa,[1] he succeeded in inducing Thomas to consent to his wishes, and then used all his influence to secure the election of his favourite, through whom he hoped to rule both Church and State. His efforts were not in vain. Though Thomas of London was not a monk, he was unanimously elected by the monks of Canterbury, and, with the exception of the disappointed Gilbert Foliot,[2] the choice of the monks was approved by the bishops assembled at Westminster. Before the dispersion of this assembly, which was presided over by the child king Henry and his advisers acting for the sovereign, it was addressed by the aged bishop of Winchester. This was the once magnificent prelate, Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen, whom we have seen exercising so much political and ecclesiastical influence in England as legate of the Pope, but who now, chastened by years and by intercourse with the venerable Peter of Cluny, thought only of his duties as a bishop. Bearing no malice against the newly elected archbishop who was credited with being the one by whose agency the Pope had deprived him of his legatine authority, and had restored it to Canterbury, he secured a most important concession for him. Our chancellor, said he to the bishops and barons who stood around him, the first man in the realm, whom by common consent we have elected as our father, has had control of the privy purse and of the revenues of the land. We ought, therefore, now to hold him absolved from any further responsibility with regard to these matters; for it would not be proper for the Church to make a father of

[1] *Vita* of John of Salis., c. 9.

[2] "Vir . . . grandævus . . . litteratus, habituque monachus, qui ut ferebat opinio, ad archiepiscopatum ex diu aspiraverat." *Anon.* (Roger), c. 20.

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one who was still a servant of finance, and for his past dealings with it still liable to be called to account. To this reasonable request a ready assent was given by Henry's representatives.[1]

Reception of the pallium.

Consecrated on June 2, 1162, Thomas at once sent an important embassy for his pallium to Pope Alexander, at Montpellier, whither he had recently escaped from Italy. The most distinguished of his envoys was John of Salisbury, soon to be known as "the right eye and arm of the new archbishop." It was to him that Alexander entrusted for St. Thomas "that mysterious and remarkable symbol of an archbishop" the pallium.[2] The archbishop received it with the greatest devotion on his knees and with bare feet. Fitz-Stephens, full of the symbolical feeling of the Middle Ages, if not of Christian archæology, assures us that there was good reason for this, inasmuch as the pallium was instituted to take the place of the gold plate which hung over the forehead of the high priest, and on which were engraved the words "Holy to the Lord." The two pendants signify the Old and the New Law, and

[1] *Anon.* (Roger), c. 20, ap. *Materials*, iv. p. 17; Grim, c. 367, ap. *ib.*, ii. 367; Fitz-Stephens, c. 25, ap. *ib.*, iii. 25, etc. "It seems impossible, in face of an accumulation of testimony, to doubt this, though the place and date may be doubtful." Hutton, p. 53 n. The venerable bishop also exhorted the new archbishop to a change of life. He would have him be as earnest in the cause of heaven as he had been too zealous in the service of man; a shepherd where he had been a wolf; a Paul where he had been a Saul. So at least Garnier tells us in his quaint old French:

> "Fiz, si serras, co dit l'evesques de Wincestre,
> Se purvers as esté el servise terrestre,
> Mielz (better) e plus volentiers serf le seignur celestre.
> Tu fus lus (wolf) as œilles, or seies pastre e prestre.
> De Saul persecutur, Pols serras e deiz estre."
>
> v. 471-5.

[2] "Mysterium . . . grande est illud insigne, illud archiepiscopi singulare." Fitz-Stephens, *l.c.*

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(by the crosses upon them) remind one of the Passion of Christ; and the little pins by which the pallium is fastened typify the nails by which the body of Christ was fastened to the cross.[1]

Change of life in Becket.

It is the general assertion of the new archbishop's biographers that after his consecration a marked change made itself manifest in his mode of life. "In his ordination," says Fitz-Stephens,[2] "he received, along with the visible anointing of the Sacrament, the invisible unction of divine grace, and, putting off the worldly habits which he had had as chancellor, he strove to acquire what was necessary to make a worthy archbishop." It must, however, be remarked that, in forming their estimate of Becket's character, many misunderstand these words. To avoid this misconception it should be borne in mind that, even before he became a priest and a bishop, the life of Thomas of London, if somewhat worldly, had always been thoroughly good. The radical change which his consecration wrought in him did not consist in a sudden and complete alteration in his character and in his external conduct, but in a wholly different view of his relations to the things of this world, and of his duties and obligations to his Creator. Before his consecration, the leading idea of his life, to which he was loyally true, was the temporal prosperity of the land, and the worldly advantage of his king; after his consecration, he was equally staunch to the interests of the Church and to the cause of God. If our knowledge of human nature had not taught us to expect that the saint's change of mind would not manifest itself to others immediately, by being at once visible in every department of his external deportment, we must be thankful that his

[1] Fitz-Stephens, *l.c.* *Cf.* Herb. de B., iii. 4. On the pallium, see *supra*, vol. i. pt. i., Append. I.

[2] *L.c.*

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biographers have enlightened us in this particular. We are told, for instance, that the monks found it necessary to urge him to modify somewhat the splendour of his dress, and his friendly mentor John of Salisbury thought it needful to impress upon him that prayer was more incumbent upon him than the study even of canon law, and that meditation on the morals of St. Gregory the Great would benefit him more than the philosophy of the schools.[1] But Thomas had planted the seed in his soul which would in time burst through his earthly dross, and merit to bring forth the bright red flower of martyrdom.

Henry begins to withdraw his friendship from the archbishop.

Meanwhile, trouble between the king and the archbishop was beginning. Henry was annoyed when his confidant, in order to be freer to devote himself to his episcopal duties, resigned the chancellorship, and he was irritated against him by the interested complaints of the usurpers of Church property or of ecclesiastical rights whom the archbishop had promptly excommunicated or had summarily dispossessed of their ill-gotten gains. Joining themselves to such of the clergy as were jealous of the archbishop, or whose lax lives caused them to dread his discipline, these expelled plunderers persuaded the king that the archbishop "was striving to annul the customs of the realm and the donations of the king, and to subject not merely the clergy, but the people also, to canon law."[2] A year, however, went by without anything

[1] Ep. ap. *Materials*, v. 161, May 1165, or ep. 138. "Mallem vos Psalmos ruminare, et b. Gregorii Morales Libros revolvere, quam scholastico more philosophari." With his calmer political insight John of Salisbury quickly realised that in the struggle between the archbishop and the king, which he knew to be inevitable, St. Thomas could not look for any human help, not even in Rome, and so was anxious for his friend to devote himself more and more to prayer. In this very letter he writes: "Ipse (God) novit quod in nullo mortali nobis, ut opinor, sperandum est in præsenti augustia."

[2] Grim, *Vita*, c. 21.

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occurring serious enough to snap the bond of friendship between Becket and the king. On the archbishop's return from the council of Tours (June 1163), where the Pope had received him as though, among the assembled Fathers, he had the rights of the first-born, Henry welcomed him with the affection of a son.[1]

Henry and the archbishop quarrel, 1163.

However, within a few days after this friendly meeting of the king and the archbishop, a serious dispute occurred between them. The king wished to make an illegal appropriation of money,[2] but was successfully resisted by St. Thomas, if not to his own advantage, at any rate to that of the nation (July 1163). Henry was very angry; for he realised that there was a man in England who would strive to prevent him from being absolute even in the State, and who would assuredly do anything but help him to enslave the Church. Now, at length, thoroughly comprehending what an obstacle he had placed in the way of his attaining supreme power in Church and State alike,[3] he resolved at all costs to crush the man he had raised to power. With this end in view, and as a step forward in his path of absolutism, he attacked the criminal jurisdiction claimed by the ecclesiastical courts.[4] He pretended that with the kind of punishments inflicted by the clergy on their erring brethren, viz., degradation, imprison-

[1] Herb. de B., iii. 20.

[2] See Hutton, p. 72. On this transaction Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist. of England*, i. 463, remarks: "This is . . . the first case of any opposition to the King's will in the matter of taxation which is recorded in our national history."

[3] A south Italian monk who wrote *c.* 1227 says, *Chron.*, 1182, ed. Gaudenzi, p. 31, Naples, 1888, Henry wished: "subpeditare sibi clerum, quemadmodum ceterum vulgus."

[4] At the very same time, in his Continental territories, he was endeavouring to lessen the Church's legal rights in the matter of widows, orphans, clerics, usury, etc. *Cf.* a letter of John, bishop of Poitiers, to St. Thomas, ap. *Materials*, v. 37 ff.

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ment, and the like, it was impossible to repress serious crime among clerics. And he maintained, with considerable exaggeration of statement,[1] that serious crimes were on the increase among them.

Clerics and secular courts.

Clerics, therefore (and it must be borne in mind that *all* were counted as such who had received the tonsure), if guilty of grave offences against the civil law, must, said the king, be punished by the civil law. Henry accordingly proposed that a cleric accused of a serious crime against the law of the land should first be brought before the civil court in order that the accusation against him might therein be stated. If it appeared that there was a case, the accused was then to be handed over to the ecclesiastical courts for trial, and the king's officers were to watch the procedure, and at once to arrest the accused if convicted. In the event of the cleric's being condemned, he was to be degraded, and then handed over to the civil authorities to be punished as though he were a layman.[2] The idea, says

[1] Or it was so maintained in his presence. *Cf.* Will. of New., *Hist.*, ii. 16, with Lingard's comment, *Hist. of England*, ii. p. 64 f., ed. 1874. See also Henry's speech in the *Saga*, i. 146 ff.

[2] *Cf.* the document *Summa causæ inter Regem et Thomam*, n. 1 (ap. *Materials*, iv. p. 201 ff.) with Cap. 3 of the *Constitutions of Clarendon* (ap. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 137 ff.), which we give with Maitland's commentary: "Clerici rettati et accusati de quacunque re (not ecclesiastical offences such as incontinence, heresy, etc.—for it was not called in question that anyone, cleric or layman, would be tried and punished for these offences in the spiritual courts—but grave crimes, murder, etc.), summoniti a justitia regis venient in curiam ipsius (*i.e.*, the king's court), responsuri ibidem (to answer in the king's court) de hoc unde videbitur curiæ regis quod ibidem sit respondendum (on what ought to be treated of in the King's court), et in curia ecclesiastica unde videbitur quod ibidem sit respondendum (and in the ecclesiastical courts what ought there to be treated of); ita quod justitia regis mittet in curiam sanctæ ecclesiæ ad videndum qua ratione res ibi tractabitur. (Hence the king's officers shall go into the ecclesiastical courts to see what is the result of the trial there.) Et si clericus convictus vel confessus fuerit, non debet de cetero eum ecclesia tueri. (And if the cleric is there shown to have been guilty of any

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Maitland,[1] who has the honour of having made the king's scheme clear, is this: "accusation and plea in the temporal court; *trial*, conviction, degradation in the ecclesiastical court; sentence in the temporal court to the layman's punishment."

Now, it must be observed that this proposed mode of dealing with criminous clerks was an innovation, and was opposed not only to the laws of all the other Christian countries, but to the laws of England—even to such as were proclaimed by William the Conqueror. The archbishop, however, might well have accepted it, for it did not directly contravene the canon law of Gratian, and it was, in the main, the method of procedure which Innocent III., not long after this, ordered to be taken against clerical forgers of papal bulls.[2] Moreover, Henry's scheme against criminous clerks did not fall under the condemnation of Alexander when he forbade the trial of clerics by laymen,[3] for it did not propose that an accused cleric should be tried in a lay court, but in an ecclesiastical court and by canon law.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

Hence, perchance, if this measure had stood by itself, the archbishop might have been well advised to accept it; but it soon became manifest that it was only one item in a scheme of legislation which Henry had devised in order to transfer to himself the power of the Pope in the Church of

grave civil crime, the Church must no longer protect him; *i.e.*, he must be handed over to the civil authorities, and then punished as a layman)." See next note.

[1] See his article, "Henry II. and the Criminous Clerks," ap. *English Hist. Rev.*, April 1892, vol. vii. p. 224 ff. The article is reprinted in his *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, London, 1898, from which latter the quotation is taken (p. 135).

[2] Maitland, *ib.* p. 144 f., quoting the *Register* of Inn. III., ed. Baluze, i. 574, and ii. 268.

[3] Ep. 634. "Nec . . . quemlibet Ecclesiæ prælatum coram laicis accusare, seu ad sæculare judicium trahere præsumatis." *Cf.* ep. 979.

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this country.[1] Henry II. was to be the whole State. He was to be the Lord of the souls as well as of the bodies of his subjects, to be, as he is said to have boasted that he was, "in his own realm, King, Legate apostolic, Patriarch, Emperor, Everything."[2]

To clear the approach to the goal at which he was aiming, Henry induced the bishops of England, including even St. Thomas, to promise to observe what he euphemistically called the *customs* of the realm, but what were really the usurpations of his Norman predecessors, with certain additions of his own. He then embodied the said *customs* in sixteen chapters, which, from the place where they were produced (January 1164), came to be known as the *Constitutions of Clarendon.*

Of these new[3] "customs," some were directly aimed at the power of the Pope, and others at the then recognised liberties of the Church in this country. The two articles that most overtly attacked papal authority were the

[1] On this such opponents as Freeman and R. H. Froude are agreed. The first wrote: "It must always be remembered that, as far as dealings with the court of Rome went, what Henry VIII. did, Henry II. had tried to do." "We honour him for the attempt; but we see also that the attempt was premature." See ap. *Contemporary Review*, September 1878; *The Life and Times of Thos. Becket*, p. 234. Henry's measures "would have placed the relations of Church and State on a footing not very different from that which was arranged 400 years after under Henry VIII." Froude, *Hist. of the Contest*, p. 21.

[2] Ep. 329 of John of Salisbury, ap. *Materials*, vi. 416 ff. "Adeoque gloriatur, ut palam dicat se nunc demum avi sui consecutum privilegium, qui in terra sua erat rex, legatus apostolicus, patriarcha, imperator et omnia quæ volebat."

[3] "Henricus infestus fuit Ecclesiæ inductis *novis* pravis consuetudinibus, et veteribus exasperatis." Ralph Niger, *Chronicon I.*, p. 92, ed. Anstruther. These "customs" were *new*, not as far as the practice of the Norman kings was concerned, but as far as the law of the land was concerned. In Becket's fight against these innovations "all the piety and wisdom of three centuries saw the championship of Divine truth and justice against secular usurpation." Stubbs, *Gesta Hen.*, ii. p. xxiv, R. S.

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fourth and the eighth. The former forbade bishops to leave the country without the licence of the king, and laid down that, if permission were granted, they were to undertake when abroad "not to procure ill or hurt to king or kingdom."[1] The drift of this article is plain enough. Robert of Gloucester, writing in the days of Henry's grandson (Henry III.), says it was designed to place the king "in the Pope's stead."[2] Its signification was emphasised by the eighth article, which regulated appeals. If they were not decided at once in the archbishop's court, they were to be referred back to it by the king's orders, and were in no case "to proceed further without the assent of the king."[3] Could Henry have established these two articles, the authority of the Pope in this country would have been rendered wholly ineffective. The king could then at any time have prevented the bishops from obeying the summons of the Pope to meet him in council or for any purpose whatsoever, and from carrying out any of his decrees which he might choose to consider as likely to bring "ill or hurt (*malum vel damnum*)" to himself or to his kingdom. And if appeals were not to be carried beyond the archbishop's court, and the king were to be able,

[1] The Constitutions are also given ap. *Materials*, v. p. 71 ff.

[2] "And ye king amendi ssolde (should amend) ye erchebissopes dede (deed)
And be as in the popes stude; ac (but) sein tomas (St. Thomas) it withsede (opposed)."
Metrical Chron., v. 9712-4, ed. R. S., ii. p. 681.

[3] "Ita quod non debeat ulterius procedere absque assensu D. regis." C. 68. That the king's object was to get rid of the court of Rome altogether is stated by the Anonymous of Lambeth: "Præsertim enim detestans et declinare volens Romanæ curiæ supercilium et ambitionem, archiepiscopo soli suos ad judicium subditos fieri nitebatur." Ap. *Mat.*, iv. 93-4. *Cf.* Rob. of G., *l.c.*, p. 682. Henry found it convenient to pretend afterwards that he only wished to prevent *civil* cases from being carried to Rome. *Cf.* ep. of Gilbert Foliot to the Pope, ep. 174, i. pp. 239-40, ed. Giles.

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through a subservient archbishop,[1] to enforce the decision of them there, he would have had no superior in Church matters in the land. And the fact that Henry afterwards chose to declare that his legislation was simply designed to prevent *civil* causes from being referred to Rome, is sufficient evidence against what authority his Constitutions were in reality knowingly and deliberately levelled.[2] Nor on his side was Becket under any illusion as to the bearings of these articles; and he ceased not to proclaim to the Pope that it was for the Church of Rome that he was "contending even unto death."[3] The great churchmen abroad were equally clear that it was the power of the Pope that Henry was attacking, and that it was for the "privileges of the Apostolic See that St. Thomas was contending." "As the strength of the limbs flows from the head," says one of them,[4] "so the safety of all the churches proceeds from the holy Roman See, which is their head. A noble member of that body is the see of Canterbury. . . . (But) the king of England is doing his best not to rend and cripple her, but to destroy her, . . . so that the authority of the Apostolic See will speedily be annihilated,

[1] "Quis enim in regno præpedire posset in quo regis et archiepiscopi nisus concurrerent? Ecce quantum ei potestatis in ecclesiasticis procurabat fastigium." *Anon.*, *l.c.*, p. 94.

[2] Ep. Gilbert F., ed. Giles, i. 239, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 205.

[3] Ep. ap. *Mat.*, vi. 150; *cf.* vi. 48. "Me exsulem et proscriptum pro Domino, et fidelitate ecclesiæ Romanæ, et cleri libertate." Henry's principles "involved . . . the throwing off of all dependence upon the see of Rome." Freeman, *Hist. Essays*, first series, p. 110. *Cf.* vii. 239.

[4] Ep. of William, bishop-elect of Chartres, to Pope Alexander, ap. the letters of Gilbert Foliot, ed. Giles, ii. p. 211 f. *Cf.* another letter of the same, ap. *ib.*, p. 209; or both, ap. *P. L.*, t. 209. We have used Giles's translation for the most part. See also a letter of Henry, archbishop of Sens, ap. *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 1366. His suffragan, the famous Maurice de Sully, the builder of Notre Dame, tells the Pope that Thomas was contending "pro tuendis apostolicæ sedis privilegiis." Ap. *Mat.*, vii. 41.

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and his own will become law in all his dominions. . . . The noble archbishop of Canterbury is exiled amongst us, because . . . he dared to uphold the apostolic privileges."

Even the first article struck a blow at the Pope's position with regard to the Church of England. It laid down that disputes concerning advowsons and presentation to churches were to be settled "in the king's court." Now as the letters of John of Salisbury, when secretary to Archbishop Theobald, show that such appeals were often referred to Rome, there is no need to pause in order to show that the opening clause of the Constitutions affected the see of Rome. The other articles had only an indirect influence on the rights of the Pope in England.[1] Such were the articles[2] on criminous clerks, which we have already discussed; those which forbade the king's tenants *in capite*, or his servants, to be excommunicated without application to him (*nisi prius rex . . . conveniatur*);[3] and that which sanctioned the gross abuse of the king's taking the revenues of vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and interference with the freedom of ecclesiastical elections.[4]

[1] But of course the condition of the clergy in any country affected the Pope, inasmuch as all the clergy, says a contemporary tract on Becket, form God's household under the obedience of the vicar of Blessed Peter, the Pope: "omnes clerici quasi una familia sunt domus Dei . . . in obedientia et justitia vicarii b. Petri, d. Papæ." Ap. *Materials*, iv. p. 148.

[2] Art. 3. *Cf.* 9, 14 and 15. [3] Art. 7, *cf.* 10.

[4] Art. 12. The see of Lincoln, the revenues of which went into the royal exchequer, was kept vacant by Henry for nearly seventeen years (*cf.* Will. of New., *Hist.*, ii. 22); and in the thirty-first year of his reign Henry held in his possession the revenues of seven vacant bishoprics and as many vacant abbeys (*cf.* Lingard, *Hist. of England*, ii. p. 67 n.). There appears to be an impression among some authors that Henry was favourable to the liberty of his people at large, if not to that of the Church. But the fact is that he was as bitterly opposed to the advancement of liberty among the poorer classes as he was to the freedom of the Church, their protector. The last article of the Constitutions forbade the ordination of the sons of villeins without the

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St. Thomas will not set his seal to the *Constitutions*.

The archbishop had been induced to promise to observe the *customs* of the country by deceit of one kind or another.[1] But when he heard them deliberately read up, after they had been reduced to writing, he began to realise that he had been led much further than he had intended to go. Accordingly he refused to set his seal to them, listened with humility to the upbraidings of his cross-bearer for betraying the Church, repented of what he had done, and declared he would "sit in silent grief till the Orient from on high should have visited him, so that he might merit to be absolved by God and by the Pope."[2] The absolution of

consent of their lords, and Henry himself denounced the monastic orders because they admitted as brethren "such men as tanners and cobblers, of whom not one even under pressing necessity ought to be made a bishop or abbot." Gervase, *Chron.*, an. 1196, R. S., i. 540. In the twentieth article of the *Assize* of Clarendon "the lord king" forbade the monks to receive any of "the common people (*de minuto populo*)" as monks. Even Henry's mother, "though sprung from a stock of tyrants," disapproved of most of the articles of the Constitutions. *Cf.* ep. of Nicholas of Rouen to Becket, ap. *Mat.*, v. 149.

[1] Among other devices, by papal letters, issued at the king's request but in ignorance of the real state of things, which urged the archbishop to bend to the king's will [*cf. Anon.* (Roger), *Vit.*, c. 31, and L'Huillier, *Vie*, i. 266 ff.]; and by an undertaking on the part of the king that he "had no thought of pressing the matter beyond a mere formal submission" (Robertson, *Life of Becket*, p. 96). Acting on the advice of the crafty Arnulf of Lisieux, Henry had succeeded in gaining over to his side such bishops as Roger of York, Gilbert Foliot, etc.

[2] Alan of Tewkesbury, *Vita S. Thom.*, c. 2, ap. *Mat.*, ii. 323–5. That the archbishop did not set his seal to the *Constitutions* is attested by William of Canterbury, Garnier, and the Anonymous (Roger), by "others," and by the archbishop himself, as we learn from John of Poitiers. Writing to the saint, John says: "Deo enim incessanter gratias refero, quod (sicut ex *aliorum* fida relatione, et nunc tandem ex rescripti vestri fide, certissime teneo) detestabiles illas . . . consuetudines . . . non absolute, sicut illarum innovator gloriatur, observandas promisistis, neque, ut cæteri, scripti vestri munimento roborastis." Ap. *Mat.*, v. 112. Fitz-Stephens alone says he affixed his seal; but the phrase was not found in all the MSS. which gave his work. *Cf. Mat.*, iii. 48, n. 9. It is L'Huillier, i. 381 n., who calls attention to these and other similar points.

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the Pope was not long in coming. Letting the archbishop understand that he had learnt that the action he had taken had not been deliberate: "We, trusting in the merits of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, absolve you from what you have done, . . . commanding you not on that account to abstain from saying Mass" (April 1, 1164).[1] Moreover, about a month before this, Alexander had himself distinctly declined to listen to Henry's request for a papal confirmation of the *customs*,[2] had forbidden the bishops of England to observe them, and had ordered them to strive to procure their withdrawal.[3]

The council of Northampton (Oct. 1164) and flight of St. Thomas.

Thus "encouraged by apostolic authority," the archbishop resumed his normal work in his diocese, "observing such of the royal and ecclesiastical *customs* as were good, but pruning away as bastard slips, in order that they might not strike deep root, such as had been introduced to the detriment of the Church and to the dishonour of the clergy."[4]

Bent, however, on working his will, Henry, unable to overcome the archbishop by a frontal attack, endeavoured to overthrow him by a flank manœuvre of pitiless baseness.[5]

[1] Ep. 244, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 88. *Cf.* Herb. de B., c. 31, p. 292.

[2] Ep. 238, or ap. *Materials*, v. 85 ff.: "Sed nos petitionem istam (viz., to confirm the *customs* by apostolic authority) nequaquam admisimus." *Cf.* Fitz-Stephens, *Vita*, c. 36.

[3] Ep. 239, or ap. *M.*, v. 84.

[4] Herb., *ib.*, p. 294.

[5] The manœuvre was base because the quittance had been given by those who in England then held his authority, and because it had afterwards been confirmed even by himself, when he petitioned the Pope to grant Thomas the pallium: "Sed et litteris regiis id d. Papæ mandatum est, cum pallium ei postmodum a sede Romana petitum est." *Anon. II.*, *Vita*, c. 18, ap. *Mat.*, iv. 105. After the martyrdom of St. Thomas a fearless monk, Bernard de Ceorillo, boldly reminded Henry how faithful a chancellor the saint had been to him: "Reverendus ille pater Becket archiepiscopus et irreprehensibiliter cancellarii munere coram te perfunctus fuerat, quare talem tantumque fidelem delevit oblivio." Ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Becket*, vii. 451, R. S.

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Pretending that he had not authorised the freeing of his late chancellor from being liable to be called to account for his money transactions during his term of office, the king suddenly, at the council of Northampton (October 1164) required St. Thomas to give an account of one large sum of money after another. For the sake of peace, the saint and the aged Henry of Winchester offered the king two thousand marks to avoid further vexation. Their offers were despised. The king demanded sureties for extravagant sums which it was wholly impossible for the archbishop to find. Accordingly, seeing that Henry was bent on his ruin, and had won over nearly the whole hierarchy to his side, St. Thomas forbade the bishops to join in judging him, appealed to the Pope, and left the assembly.[1] Then, as he had been warned that, if he escaped imprisonment, he would be slain by wicked men, "as though without the king's knowledge,"[2] he fled during the night, and succeeded in reaching Flanders in safety. As soon as possible after his escape, he wrote to inform the Pope that he had fled to him, "the last refuge of the distressed," that they were his privileges which were being

Speaking of Henry's conduct on this occasion, Foss (*The Judges of England*, i. p. 208, London, 1848) remarks: "It is impossible to justify these proceedings. Whatever reason the king might have to be displeased with the bishop's conduct, this was an unprincely mode of showing his resentment, and looked more like oppression than justice."

[1] Fitz-Stephens (c. 49) notes on his own account that an archbishop is to be judged by the Pope alone, as the Pope is to be judged by God alone. "Ante consecrationem," said the archbishop to the barons, "a rege immunis dimissus sum et ecclesiæ Cantuariensi redditus liber, . . . et solutus ab omni regis querela sæculari . . . et tam personam meam quam Cantuariensem ecclesiam sub Dei et d. papæ colloco protectione." *Ib.*, cc. 53-4. "Necessitate magna coactus ad d. papam appello" (*Anon.*, Roger, c. 46); *John of Salis.*, c. 16. He appealed, says Grim, c. 44, to the Holy See, "the only resource for the accused."

[2] Fitz-Stephens, c. 48.

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attacked, and that those most to blame were the bishops who had betrayed him (November 1164).[1]

The action of Alexander in the case of St. Thomas, 1164–70.

The cause of the archbishop was now in the hands of Alexander, and in them it remained till the time of the saint's reconciliation with the king shortly before his martyrdom (1170). And it must be confessed that during those six years the papal hands proved to be very weak. Both before and after the archbishop's flight, his friends impressed upon him that he need not look for any help from the papal curia. "The papal court," wrote one of the saint's envoys to his master, "loudly extol in you that courage of which they are themselves so deficient."[2] Look not for any help from the court of Rome, is the warning given to him by John of Poitiers[3] and by John of Salisbury; for, adds the latter, the king's envoys will pour out money like water, and money Rome has never despised.[4] Alexander had himself revealed his policy to the archbishop when, while calling him "a great pillar of the Church," he laid it down that it was necessary for both of them by prudent concession to soothe the anger of the king.[5] He never, it is true, approved of what was wrong, but he neither gave whole-hearted support to St. Thomas, nor showed an uncompromising opposition to the injustices and aggressions of Henry. He endeavoured to

[1] Ap. *Materials*, v. 138 ff.: "Nam quid aliud esset . . . nisi vestra vobis jura subtrahere? Quid aliud quam spiritualia temporalibus submittere." The bishops of France also made haste to impress upon Alexander that the archbishop was fighting for the maintenance of his rights in England. *Cf.* the action of Maurice de Sully, set forth in detail by his modern biographer, V. Mortel, *Maurice de Sully*, p. 127 ff., Paris, 1890.

[2] Ap. *ib.*, p. 59.

[3] Poitiers, *ib.*, p. 56: "Nihil est quod de curia in aliquo quod regem offendere debeat expectetis."

[4] "Venient enim magni viri (from England), divites in effusione pecuniæ, quam nunquam Roma contempsit." *Ib.*, p. 99 f., or ep. 134.

[5] Ep. 238, or ap. *ib.*, p. 85.

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defend the lamb without striking the wolf.[1] The one end of his diplomacy was to preserve at least the semblance of peace, and to prevent matters from going to extremities. He accordingly aimed at giving sufficient encouragement to St. Thomas and his party to prevent their giving up the cause of the Church in despair, but not enough to make them bold enough to use all the weapons of the Church against Henry. And, on the other hand, by judiciously blending the bitter with the sweet, he strove to hold the king so balanced between hope and fear that he would not be seriously tempted to join the schismatics. The very last letter of the Pope which we have quoted furnishes us with an admirable example of his style of diplomacy throughout the six years' strife between Becket and Henry. While, on the one hand, he refused to listen to Henry's "earnest petition" that he would confirm the *customs*, on the other, "weighing the dangers of the times," he encouraged him by passing over St. Thomas, and naming the king's ally, Roger of York, as apostolic legate in England. Similarly with regard to the archbishop. He is a "great pillar of the Church," he allows; but he and others had promised to observe the *customs* which he (the Pope) had had to decline to confirm. Further, it is true, he admits, that he has granted the legation to Roger, but he will not fail to advance the interests of the archbishop with the king as far as he can, and he will devote all necessary care to the preservation of the rights of his church.[2] Hence, too, as we learn from other letters, though he had at one time granted Roger permission to have his cross carried before him throughout the whole of England,[3] he after-

[1] I have found that St. Thomas himself denounces the futility of such an attempt. "Lupus enim ab ovile facile non arcetur, nisi clamore canum terreatur et *baculo*." Ep. to Cardinal Boso, ap. *Mat.*, vi. p. 59.

[2] Ep. 238, February 27, 1164, Sens, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 85.

[3] Ep. ap. *Mat.*, v. 21, of July 13, 1162, Montpellier.

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wards forbade him to exercise this privilege in the province of Canterbury;[1] and, with regard to the legation, he assured St. Thomas that the king's envoys had sworn that the apostolic letters conferring it on Roger would not be delivered to him without the knowledge and consent of the archbishop of Canterbury; for he had not the smallest intention of subjecting his see to any other authority save that of the Roman pontiff. Accordingly, as soon as he had heard that the commission had been delivered, he made haste to exempt the see of Canterbury from the authority of the new legate.[2]

Before, however, we pass a sweeping condemnation on what certainly seems to be the over-cautious policy of Alexander in dealing with the aggressions of Henry, it is only fair to cast a glance at the situation in which the Pope himself was placed, and to consider how destitute he was of means of striking an effective blow at that powerful and unscrupulous monarch. When the quarrel between Henry and Becket broke out, Alexander was fighting for his own position against a bold and warlike emperor, and against an antipope. He was, moreover, an exile, and in the deepest poverty,[3] and was altogether

[1] Epp. 234–6, January 21, etc., 1164, Sens, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 67–9.

[2] "Juramentum obtulerunt (the king's envoys), quod nunquam sine conscientia et voluntate vestra eædem litteræ archiepiscopo Eboracensi redderentur. Sane . . . numquam in animum nostrum descendit . . . ut te aut ecclesiam tuam alicui personæ in ecclesiasticis velimus subesse, nec nisi tantum Romano pontifici obedire." Ep. 240, February, Sens, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 85.

[3] Hence his request to Gilbert Foliot not only to collect and send to him the Peter's Pence which was due, but in the meantime to advance him what money he could borrow in his behalf. "Rogamus . . . ut . . . de pecunia tua, vel aliunde mutuo acquisita, nobis interim studeas utiliter providere." Ep. 349, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 177–8. In due course Foliot forwarded the whole sum due for the year, viz., 200 pounds, less 9 pounds 5 shillings, which he said was still owing from Bartholomew of Exeter. Ep. ap. *M.*, v. 210–11. This Bartholomew denied, ap. *ib.*, pp. 295–6.

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dependent on the king of France for a home. As the quarrel progressed, he was able, indeed, to return to Italy, but either the emperor or the Romans prevented him from holding Rome for any length of time, and forced him to remain in exile in the Campagna. Furthermore, he entertained a feeling of gratitude to Henry, whose acceptance of his claims had done so much to secure his general recognition as Supreme Pontiff.[1] Besides, he knew well that he had no strong party to support him in England. The mass both of the clergy and of the people were devoted to the archbishop, but in the twelfth century they counted for very little in the political balance of this country. Henry, on the contrary, had on his side most of the powerful nobility, whether in the Church or in the State.[2] Relying on this support, the English king, in order to put pressure on the Pope, did not hesitate to open negotiations with the schismatics,[3] and even to threaten to drag the nation after him into apostasy.[4] If it be granted

[1] This feeling Alexander frequently mentions in his letters: "Licet nos eum pro multa devotione, et multis obsequiis nobis tempore necessitatis impensis . . . affluentiori caritate diligamus," etc. Ep. 349, or ap. *M.*, v. 175. *Cf.* ep. 467, or ap. *ib.*, vi. 377.

[2] St. Thomas writes that the king has gained the bishops on both sides of the water: "Ad subversionem justitiæ et libertatis, quorundam episcoporum citra mare et ultra consilio nititur (Henry). . . . Hi sunt os ejus, hi calamus." Ep. ad Alex., vi. 49. Even the intriguer Arnulf of Lisieux notes that, while the bishops who ought to have been his support have seceded from the saint in a body, . . . the inferior clergy are sincerely attached to him. The nobles, too, oppose the Church, and so for the time obtain the king's support. Afterwards they will turn against him. Ep. to St. Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, v. pp. 307–10. This is a very important letter, as it shows very admirably the state of parties in England. On the loyalty of the rank and file of clergy and people to the archbishop, see also ep. ap. *ib.*, pp. 272 and 287. It is a letter of Gilbert Foliot to the Pope, in which he acknowledges that the clergy are "*ungrateful* to the king," and that the people hate "the king and the nobles."

[3] Ep. 349, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 176, an. 1165.

[4] His envoys on one occasion threatened the Pope that their master would sooner become a Moslem than that St. Thomas should remain

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that such threats were largely mere idle words, they at least show how thoroughly unscrupulous Henry was in pursuing his ends, and prepare us to find that he was never backward in endeavouring, either by gold to tempt men from the path of duty, or by perjury to lead them into his snares. John of Oxford, surnamed "Jurator," the perjurer, was his favourite envoy. He said nothing when one of his ambassadors betrayed Alexander's affairs to the antipope Calixtus,[1] and he was audacious enough to attempt to bribe cities, and to buy the pope himself.[2]

If, then, Alexander was driven well-nigh to the utmost limit of caution by the insolently aggressive conduct of Henry, he was perhaps at times pushed beyond its bounds into sheer pusillanimity, on the one hand, by that weakness of his *sides* (*latera*, his legates *a latere*) of which Eugenius III. had with grim humour complained, and on the other by the excessive daring of the guide who loudly called upon him to follow wherever he might lead. Such a legate as Cardinal William of Pavia seems always to have been prepared to sell himself for a price, and St. Thomas, at least in the early part of the struggle, seems, like a spirited war-horse, almost to have longed to be in the danger which he scented from afar.[3] The Head of the Church may well be excused for not always following the lead of

archbishop of Canterbury. Ep. 244 of John of Salisbury, or ap. *M.*, vi. 406. See Henry's own letter, ap. *M.*, v. 428. *Cf.* a letter to St. Thomas, ap. *ib.*, p. 272. Gilbert Foliot and other bishops appealed to Rome against St. Thomas "propter discessionem etiam a Romana ecclesia. Recederet enim rex forte a Rom. eccles., si parerent interdicto vestro."

[1] Ep. Alex., 307, or ap. *Mat.*, vi. p. 200. The Pope, it is true, had no proof of the treachery.

[2] Ep. of John of Salis., 288, or ap. *Mat.*, vii. 30; and ep. St. Thomas, ap. *ib.*, p. 26.

[3] On the venality of William of Pavia, *cf.* ep. of John of S., 202, or ap. *Mat.*, vi. 132; and ep. St. Thos., ap. *ib.*, p. 55.

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so impetuous a steed. One of the truest of the saint's friends, John of Salisbury, even whilst urging him to follow a certain line of conduct, had to declare that he stood in need not of the spur but of the rein, and that he had frequently severely rebuked him when, not taking time, person, and place sufficiently into account, he irritated the king and his party by a rather over-hasty zeal.[1]

Alexander condemns the *Constitutions*, 1164.

Reverting to the course of our narrative, we are taken back to the flight of St. Thomas from England after the council of Northampton. Henry was furious at the archbishop's escape, at once confiscated all his goods, and sent envoys to the king of France and to the Pope to prejudice them against "his enemy." But, despite their gold, his agents failed to influence either Louis or Alexander.[2] The latter would only so far agree to Henry's request as to promise to send two legates to inquire into the whole question of the dispute between him and St. Thomas, but he would not consent that any decision they might arrive at "in the king's presence" should be final. "This is my glory," said he, "which I will not give to another. When the archbishop is to be judged, he shall be judged by us; for justice will not allow us to send him back to England to be tried by his adversaries in the midst of his enemies."[3]

Four days after the abortive interview between Henry's envoys and Alexander, St. Thomas arrived at Sens, and laid before the Pope a copy of the Constitutions, averring

[1] Ep. 141, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 544. *Cf.* ep. 142, or ap. *ib.*, p. 215. The saint's friend, the abbot Peter de la Celle, speaks to the same effect: "Cui calcaria adhibeo?" he writes. "Sine dubio qui freno indiget . . . Procul enim odoratur bellum." Ep. ii. 114 to St. Thomas, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202.

[2] According to Fitz-Stephens (c. 65), Henry offered to cause Peter's Pence to be paid "by every house whence smoke arises," so that it should reach the annual sum of a thousand pounds of silver.

[3] Alan, *Vit.*, c. 24. *Cf.* Diceto, *Ymag.*, an. 1164, i. 315, R. S., and Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, an. 1165, i. 230, R. S.

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that they were the sole cause why Henry was infuriated against him, and that because he refused his assent to them, "contrary as they were to the laws of God and to the decrees of the Popes, he had come to seek the sole but wonted refuge of the papal presence." He then resigned his see into Alexander's hands, and begged him to name a cardinal-bishop, a stronger and more learned man than himself, as metropolitan of the English.[1] But, despite those whom we may call the king's cardinals, but whom Alan of Tewkesbury calls the Pharisees, the Pope would not accept the resignation. "You have become," he said, "a partner in our exile. As long as we have breath in our body we will never fail you."[2] Then, while six of the articles of the Constitutions were declared tolerable, the rest of them were solemnly condemned.[3]

Barbarous cruelty of Henry.

On this occasion, however, the Pope took no further action, and St. Thomas retired to the great Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, there to be generously entertained for two years (November 30, 1164). But Henry, enraged at the failure of his embassies to Louis and the Pope, with a refinement of cruelty worthy of Nero, seized all the relations and friends of Becket, old and young, men and

[1] Grim (c. 53) gives this "ut mihi pro certo dictum est."

[2] Alan, c. 29.

[3] Herbert de B., iv. c. 10; Hoveden, *l.c.*; *Anon.* (Roger), c. 61; Garnier, v. 2333 ff. This he did, according to Garnier, after greatly thanking him for undertaking so great a deed as to defend Holy Church against an earthly king:

"E mult li sait bon gré que si grant frais enprent,
Qu' encontre rei de terre saint iglise defent." v. 2328 f.

About this same time (August 13, 1164), the Pope had to uphold the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts against Louis of France: "Sic enim sacrorum canonum sanxit auctoritas, et imperatores qui antecessores tui fuerunt, et reges Francorum in suis institutionibus hoc ipsum sanxerunt, quod hi quibus a clericis injuria irrogatur, eos apud ecclesiasticos judices debeant solummodo convenire." Ep. 265. *Cf.* ep. 350, or ap. *Mat.*, vi. 553 ff.

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women, even such as were with child or had infants at their breasts, and, in the depth of winter, cast them helpless on the shores of France. Before they were exiled they were forced to swear that they would present themselves to the saint. What must have been the agony of the archbishop when over four hundred of those who were near or dear to him from any cause appeared before him in suffering and in destitution![1] The greatest kindness was shown to these unfortunate people by Louis and his subjects; but as years went by their charity began to cool, and great was the misery endured by some of the sufferers.[2]

Not content with this savage measure, Henry issued what Roger of Hoveden calls "a shocking and execrable edict against Pope Alexander and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury," *i.e.*, he issued orders to the sheriffs to imprison anyone, cleric or lay, who should dare to appeal to Rome,[3] and then, as we have seen,[4] opened negotiations with the schismatics with a view to recognising the antipope, Paschal III. (1165).

He has to strive to ward off excommunication.

But opposition from both the clergy and laity convinced him that any attempt to induce the nation to reject Alexander would fail; and letters which were being received by his chief episcopal supporters from the Pope made it plain that the latter would act whenever he had

[1] "Totam cognationem ejus . . . sine delectu dignitatis aut ordinis, conditionis aut fortunæ, ætatis aut sexus. Nam et mulieres in puerperio decumbentes, et parvuli vagientes in cunis in exsilium acti sunt." John of S., *Vit.*, c. 19. *Cf.* Grim, c. 55; Fitz-Stephens, c. 67; Herb. de B., iv. 13, etc.

[2] See various letters of St. Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, vi. 48, and 154. Coexsules "qui frigore et fame de cetero peribunt, sicut et quidam jam perierunt." P. 154.

[3] "Henricus rex ad vicecomites," ap. *M.*, v. 152. *Cf.* Hoveden, *Chron.*, an. 1165.

[4] *Supra*, p. 72 ff.

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a fair opportunity. Writing to Foliot, Alexander said: "You are doubtless aware how the aforesaid king has fallen away from his former devotion to the Church. By forbidding appeals and visits to us (*visitationibus nostris*), by communicating with schismatics and with those who are excommunicated, and by allying himself with them, and by compelling our venerable brother Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to leave the kingdom, he has shown himself in the light of a persecutor." The bishop must admonish the king on these matters, and let him know that, despite the gratitude which the Pope owes him, his patience in enduring his evil conduct cannot last for ever (June 1165).[1]

But it was not the impatience of Alexander that Henry had to fear; it was that of the archbishop which was dreaded by Pope and king alike. And so the former, whilst about this same time (June 1165) declaring null the sentence of confiscation of his goods, "which had been presumptuously passed upon their archbishop by the bishops and barons of England,"[2] urged Becket to do nothing against the king or his domains till the following Easter (April 24, 1166).[3]

In the meantime, however, he did not forget the interests of the saint "who had resolved to suffer exile rather than consent to what would turn to our injury or to that of the Church," but, on his way back to Rome, wrote to Louis to beg him to grant some bishopric or abbacy to the archbishop for his support,[4] and to Foliot and the bishops of England urging them to zeal in his behalf, or to respect his rights.[5]

[1] Ep. 349, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 176.

[2] Ep. 352, or *ib.*, p. 178. Alexander says truly that the sentence was "tam contra juris formam, quam contra ecclesiasticam consuetudinem."

[3] Ep. 351, or *ib.*, p. 179. [4] Ep. 367, or *ib.*, p. 198.

[5] Epp. 372 and 384, or *ib.*, pp. 200 and 296. The latter letter is to the bishops, and bids them "in virtue of obedience" to respect the

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After Alexander returned to Rome (November 1165), and found himself more or less independent in the home of the Popes on the Cælian, he felt more at liberty to act with greater firmness in behalf of St. Thomas. Letters were accordingly despatched to him in which he was advised that, if he thought the time opportune, he should not delay "to execute ecclesiastical justice" on such as refused to offer suitable satisfaction for having plundered the possessions of the church of Canterbury. On his side, the Pope would confirm his sentence. Even with regard to the person of the king, Alexander declared that he would not interfere with the rights which his episcopal position gave him.[1] Furthermore, he ordered the restoration of all the property which had been taken from the archbishop's subjects;[2] forbade Roger of York, or any of the bishops, to crown the new king without the permission of Canterbury (April 5); named St. Thomas primate of England; and soon afterwards, on Easter day (April 24), appointed him papal legate for the whole country, except for the archdiocese of York; and even declared that he would not leave Henry's conduct unpunished much longer (May 16).[3]

The archbishop begins to threaten the king, 1166.

Now, feeling that he had Rome behind him, Thomas began to write directly to the king. During the months

rights of Canterbury, or they will learn "that it is dangerous to oppose his commands." The letter to the bishops was not written till the Pope had reached Rome. *Cf.* epp. 377, 386 (*ib.*, pp. 240, 245), etc.

[1] Ep. 393, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 316. "De persona regis . . . nec tamen in aliquo jus tibi pontificale, quod in . . . consecratione tua suscepisti, adimimus." *Cf.* ep. 394, where the Pope tells the bishops of the province of Canterbury about the preceding letter.

[2] *Cf.* a letter of St. Thomas to the bishops of England, ap. *ib.*, p. 318.

[3] Epp. 390–2, or ap. *ib.*, 318, 323-331. *Cf.* ep. 402 (*ib.*, p. 352) of May 16, in which the Pope urges the archbishop of Rouen and his suffragans to exhort Henry, "who is striving to draw all things to himself," to respect the Roman Church, and to be just to St. Thomas.

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of April and May he sent to Henry three letters, which became more threatening in tone as first one and then another was left unanswered.[1] He begged the king to set the Church in his realms at liberty, reminding him of his promises when he was anointed king, and warning him, in words which proved prophetical, that the sword would never depart from his house if he did not.[2] He further begged the king to grant him an interview, and concluded by assuring him that, if he did not permit him to return, and to do his duty freely, "he might take it as certain that he would feel the avenging severity of God."[3]

He exhorts the bishops of his province to make a stand for the see of Rome.

A little later (towards the end of May), he wrote to urge his suffragans to be loyal to the Church of Rome, which was "the head of all the churches, and the fount of Catholic doctrine,"[4] and to which all cases of first importance must be referred. But in England, he continued, "many attacks are made on the prerogatives of St. Peter," and those whom penance or piety would take to Rome are plundered and prevented from accomplishing their journey.[5] In virtue of obedience, therefore, he bade the bishops excommunicate such as practise these acts of violence.

But all efforts that the archbishop could make, and he spared none,[6] moved neither bishop nor king, and he went to Vézelay to draw, as he said, against the king and his

[1] Ap. *Mat.*, v. 266 ff. [2] *Ib.*, p. 268.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 282. "Pro certo sciatis quia divinam severitatem et ultionem sentietis."

[4] Ap. *Materials*, v. 354 ff. "Quis Romanam ecclesiam caput omnium ecclesiarum et fontem catholicæ doctrinæ ambigit esse? . . . Nonne in fide et doctrina Petri totius ecclesiæ structura consurgit? . . . Sed quicumque sit qui rigat . . . Deus nulli dat incrementum nisi illi qui plantatur (or *plantavit* according to some readings) in fide Petri et doctrinæ ipsius acquiescit."

[5] See a letter even of Gilbert Foliot on this point. Ap. *ib.*, p. 258 f.

[6] He enumerates in a letter to Nicholas of Rouen (v. 360 ff.) all the efforts he had made to come to some understanding with Henry.

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domains the sword of the Spirit, which is sharper than any two-edged sword, in order that the ruin of the flesh might save the soul.[1]

Action of Henry, 1166.

Meanwhile, threatened by the Pope, and especially by the archbishop, Henry began to realise that the season of impunity which he had hitherto enjoyed was drawing to an end. He was furious, and at a council at Chinon in Touraine (June 1), called his advisers "traitors who had not zeal enough to rid him of one troublesome man."[2] All, however, that they could suggest was an appeal to Rome against the archbishop's threatened excommunication, before the sentence was passed; because they knew that, in the case of excommunication, an appeal could only stand if made before the blow was struck. And so, notes John of Salisbury,[3] it came to pass that "he who had endeavoured to stop the right of appeal to Rome, had to confirm it, when he was compelled to appeal to save himself." His envoys, accordingly, hastened to Pontigny, only to find that they were too late. Becket had left it for Vézelay.

St. Thomas excommunicates some of the king's chief advisers, 1166.

On the borders of Burgundy and Nivernois are a number of dome-like heights, for the most part beautifully crested with woods. Among them, however, is one crowned not by nature's hand with the tall green tree, but by the skill of man with lordly stone. Still towering over the valleys of the Cure and the Yonne, as when it vibrated to the solemn accents of St. Thomas, stands the glorious Romanesque abbey Church of St. Mary Magdalen. Now it is all too large for the few people whose homes cling round

[1] *Mat.*, v. 360 ff.

[2] Ep. of John of S., 145, or ap. *ib.*, 381. The next time Henry used similar words, they were followed by the archbishop's death.

[3] *Ib.*: "Et ita . . . dum rex per avitas consuetudines appellationum jus evacuare conatur, magis confirmat, dum ipsemet pro capite suo ad appellandi refugium cogitur evolare."

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its base; but in the twelfth century it was needed to accommodate the people of one of the most important towns of France. On the Whit Sunday (June 12) of 1166 the crowds that poured through its great west portals were more numerous than usual, for again were the words of a saint and a hero to echo beneath its lofty arches. Some twenty years before, many of the citizens of Vézelay had heard with enthusiastic rapture the inspired accents of St. Bernard; and now both they and the neighbouring people were listening with bated breath to the most renowned bishop of Christendom pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the ministers of the most powerful sovereign in Europe. The "divers nations"[1] expected, indeed, that Henry himself was to be excommunicated; and when St. Thomas set out for Vézelay, and prayed for light and strength at Soissons on his way thither, it had been his intention to pronounce the dread sentence of the Church against his king. But before he reached the city, word had been brought to him that his lord and one time friend was on a bed of sickness. The heart of the saint was touched. Henry he could not excommunicate.[2] But first one of his counsellors and then another were declared to be expelled from the fold of the Church, and, by the authority of the Roman pontiff, handed over to the powers of darkness. John of Oxford, the Jurator, and Richard of Ilchester were banned for communicating with the schismatic Reinald of Cologne and for their share in the diet of Würzburg; Richard de Luci and others for aiding and abetting the king anent the Constitutions; and Ranulf de Broc and others for usurping

[1] "Has autem causas allegavit (St. Thomas) in pulpito, in auditu omnium qui Vizilliaci de diversis nationibus ad diem festum convenerant." John of S., *l.c.*

[2] "In regem sententiam ferre distulit." *Ib.*

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the property of the church of Canterbury. Henry himself was threatened with the like sentence unless he repented, and his Constitutions, especially the articles condemned by the Roman Church, were also denounced.[1]

Henry's retort to the action of the archbishop.

Despite the fact that Alexander confirmed these excommunications,[2] Henry did all he could to have them disregarded, and to make their authors feel the weight of his wrath. He ordered the ports to be watched in order to prevent the entry into England of letters from the Pope or the archbishop, diverted Peter's Pence into his own coffers, threatened to drive the Cistercians from England if they gave any further shelter to St. Thomas at Pontigny, suspended the clergy from the obedience they owed the archbishop, and authorised another appeal to the Pope.[3] The bishops of England accordingly met, and on June 24 appealed to the Pope, fixing Ascension day (1167) as the term of their appeal.[4] They opposed to him, as they explained to their archbishop, "the remedy of an appeal, *lest* he should involve in disgraceful trouble their king, their country, themselves, and their churches, and the Pope and the holy Roman Church."[5]

[1] Ep. John of S., *ib.* The *appeal clause* reads thus in John's letter: "Quod non appelletur in causa aliqua ad sedem apostolicam, nisi regis et officialium suorum venia impetrata." *Cf.* epp. of St. Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, v. 386 ff., 389 ff.

[2] Ep. 378, or ap. *ib.*, p. 392. Unfortunately, the date of this letter, like that of so many others regarding St. Thomas, is uncertain.

[3] Ep. John of S., 145, or ap. *Mat.*, v. 385. *Cf.* ep. of Henry to a Cistercian abbot, *ib.* p. 365; Grim, c. 56 (where it is stated that death was to be the penalty of introducing any such letters into England). *Cf. ib.*, c. 63; John of S., *Vita*, c. 19, etc. How little Henry was able to effect is clear from the fact that his own mother refused to communicate with one of those whom the saint had banned. *Cf.* a letter to Becket, *ib.*, p. 421.

[4] Their letter to the Pope, *ib.*, p. 403.

[5] Ep. of "the clergy of England" to the archbishop, ap. *Mat.*, v. p. 413. *Cf.* the letters of Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury (who had been suspended by the archbishop before June 12), and his chapter, *ib.*, 413

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In November the archbishop left Pontigny, in order not to involve his hosts in his persecution. But Louis of France lost no time in providing for him, and the saint passed the remainder of his period of exile in the monastery of St. Columba, on the banks of the Yonne near Sens. Henry, however, could do more than secure the expulsion of the archbishop from his monastic home. By means of the perjurer John of Oxford he obtained a notable success at Rome.[1] Alexander's position was again in jeopardy. Frederick re-entered Italy in November 1166, and in the following month the Pope suspended Becket's powers by the appointment of a Legatine Commission to examine the case between him and the king, and, despite the archbishop's protests, named as partner with Cardinal Otho of Ostia on the Commission the weak and venal William of Pavia.[2]

Events take a turn in his favour, 1166-67.

Though there can be no doubt that the mere nomination of this Commission did harm to the cause the Pope really had at heart,[3] Alexander had no intention of going as far as Henry hoped. He was again carrying out the policy we

ff., and the letters of Nicholas of Rouen, *ib.*, p. 421, and John of Salisbury, *ib.*, p. 443, etc.

[1] *Cf.* ep. of Henry to Reinald of Cologne, *ib.*, 428.

[2] Gerard la Pucelle (not John of Salisbury, though the letter used to be assigned to him, and is given, ep. 191, among his letters) says of him in a letter to St. Thomas that he is crafty and avaricious. Ap. *Mat.*, vi. 30. John of S. (ep. 185, or ap. *ib.*, p. 129) notes: "Quærit rex noster ut Willelmus Papiensis et alius cardinalis mittantur legati, sperans ut causam hanc ad ipsius definiant voluntatem." And in a letter to John of Poitiers, though he speaks well of the character of Otho, he denounces the cupidity of William. Ep. 202, or *ib.*, p. 132; and John of P. himself in a letter to St. Thomas (*ib.*, p. 146) says that Pavia "multiplicibus et instantissimis precibus regis Angliæ sollicitatus, et a d. Papæ simili sollicitudine et instantia impetratus." For the protests to the Pope of St. Thomas, see ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 51; and of others, see *ib.*, p. 51 ff.

[3] See the letter of Hubert, afterwards Urban III., to Alexander, *ib.*, p. 150.

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have already outlined as peculiarly his. He both gratified and disappointed the king of the English, and depressed and then encouraged the archbishop of Canterbury. Henry, who had been more than pleased with Alexander's concessions, found that the Commission he had procured at such cost was practically valueless, because the Pope, on account, as he said, of representations made to him, had instructed the two cardinals "not to do anything of importance in the king's territories, and on no account even to enter those territories unless the archbishop be first completely reconciled to him."[1] St. Thomas, on the other hand, aggrieved with the best reason at the appointment of the Commission, and especially at the nomination on it of his enemy, William of Pavia, was consoled by the thought that the possibilities of the Commission were in his hands.

Failure of a Legatine Commission, 1167.

No doubt Alexander knew as well as St. Thomas "that peace must be wrung from tyrants by an appeal not to law but to force,"[2] and did not expect that any good would come from his Commission. At any rate, no good did come from it. The king of the English and the archbishop of Canterbury were not divided on a few unimportant questions which a little kindly condescension on the part of the one, and some becoming humility on the part of the other, could have caused to vanish. Compromise was impossible. It was not, as many seem to imagine, simply an affair of criminous clerks. It was, as we have seen, a

[1] Ep. 451, May 7, 1167. *Cf.* ep. 459 of August 22, 1167; or ap. *Mat.*, vi. 201 and 232. Hence the archbishop's friend Hubert wrote to him to say that as far as he could extract from the legates themselves their powers were rather in favour of him than against him. "Nihil prorsus contra vos, sed potius pro vobis, eis permissum est."

[2] "Quæ (peace) potius extorquetur a tyrannis præparatione certaminis quam legationis litigatione," wrote Becket to the cardinals, ap. *ib.*, p. 157.

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vital question of principle. Henry was striving to win for himself both the tribute due to Cæsar and the homage due to the Church, and of this he made no secret.[1] St. Thomas, on the other hand, was prepared to die that the homage due to the Church which Christ had founded should be rendered to the Head which He had established, viz., to the Pope.[2] He was ready to lay down his life that there might be in the Church freedom of communication between its Head and its members. "For," as John of Salisbury pertinently asked, "how can faith be preserved unsullied, when subjects are not permitted to obey their shepherds and rulers in the things that pertain to God?"[3]

Hence, though the cardinals interviewed both Becket and the king, the former would not accept the *customs*, "which tore the rights of the Pope to shreds,"[4] and the latter would not yield anything save in ambiguous words, but "seemed to seek for nothing except the head of the archbishop on a charger."[5]

The close of the Commission would mean the restoration of the archbishop's normal rights. With good reason was this dreaded by the pusillanimous English episcopate.

The English bishops appeal to the Pope, and the suspension of the archbishop's powers is continued, 1167.

[1] "Ut publice ateatur se nullo modo posse placari, nisi ei ad nutum exponatur ecclesia, et de consensu nostro recipiantur ab omnibus consuetudines . . . non modo canonibus et legibus adversæ, sed Evangelio Christi penitus inimicæ." Ep. S. Thom., ap. *ib.*, p. 48.

[2] The saint ceased not to repeat that the cause was not his but that of Rome: "Causa Dei et ecclesiæ Romanæ, potius quam mea vel meorum." Ep. to Conrad of Mainz, ap. *ib.*, 472. It is always "the confusion of the Church of Rome" he fears, and not his own. *Cf. ib.*, p. 52. Peter de la Celle speaks to the Pope of Thomas: "pro libertate Ecclesiæ laudabiliter decertantis." Ep. ii. 85.

[3] Ep. 189, or ap. *Mat.*, vi. 432.

[4] "Neque se, Deo auctore, promissurum unquam ut observet consuetudines, quæ legi Dei patenter adversantur sedis apostolicæ convellunt privilegium, ecclesiæ perimunt libertatem." Ep. (seemingly) of John of S. to John of Poitiers, ep. 227, or ap. *ib.*, p. 257.

[5] The letter of a friend to St. Thomas, ap. *ib.*, p. 274.

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They again, in violation of all canon law, appealed to the Pope against any adverse sentence which their archbishop might pronounce against them ;[1] and the cardinals, exceeding their powers, forbade the archbishop, "on the Pope's authority, to pronounce any interdict against the kingdom of England or its people."[2] More than doubtful as to how far the cardinals were authorised to issue such a prohibition, Henry again set his agents to work in Rome, and, so it is said, by bribing the Pope's *entourage*,[3] he succeeded in inducing Alexander to confirm the action of his legates.[4] The Pope's one aim, as we have said, was to prevent the struggle between the king and the archbishop from proceeding to extremities, and he thought that the game of procrastination would suit him as well as it would suit Henry.

Protests, however, especially from France,[5] were poured in upon him for thus tying the hands of the archbishop, and he hastened to explain that his powers were only suspended till the Lent of 1169, and that they had been suspended only because Henry's envoys had assured him that their master was about to make another attempt at reconciliation with the archbishop.[6]

[1] *Ib.*, p. 273. *Cf.* ep. 228 of John of S., ap. *ib.*, p. 277 ; and the report of the cardinals to the Pope, *ib.*, p. 283. They fixed as the term of their appeal "the winter feast of St. Martin," 1168.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 273, etc.

[3] Epp. 239 and 246 of John of S., or ap. *Mat.*, vi. 417 and 458. Henry boasted : "Nunc d. Papam et omnes cardinales habet in bursa sua." P. 417.

[4] Ep. Alex., 467, or ap. *ib.*, p. 379. Some assign this letter to the close of the year 1167, and others till as late as May 1168. *Cf.* ep. of St. Thos., ap. *Mat.*, vi. 472, an. 1168.

[5] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, the letter of the French queen to the Pope, ap. *ib.*, p. 468.

[6] Ep. Alex., 482, or ap. *ib.*, p. 421 f. He is honest enough to tell the saint that he has so far indulged the king because he fears he will ally himself with the emperor, but he assures him that he has acted in

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To further this reconciliation, Alexander despatched Simon of Mont Dieu and Bernard de la Coudre (de Corilo), a monk of Grammont, to act as intermediaries between the king and the archbishop. They took with them not only letters of warning (*litteræ commonitoriæ*), to present to the king, but also threatening letters (*litteræ comminatoriæ*), in case the former proved inefficacious.[1] Although the Commissioners managed at Montmirail in Main to make peace between the kings of England and France, they were wholly unable to reconcile Henry and Becket, though they brought about a meeting between them (January 6, 1169). The archbishop, of course, would not give an undertaking to observe the *customs* unconditionally, because, as he told the Pope, if he did, the authority of the Holy See in England would be reduced to a vanishing point.[2] And on his side the king would not accept the archbishop's undertaking to observe the *customs*, "saving his Order, or the honour of God."[3] As Becket himself expressed it: Henry would not be reconciled to him "because we were not prepared to give an absolute promise to receive his *customs*, some of which would annihilate the authority of the Apostolic See and destroy the liberty of the Church."[4] Finding that they could extract nothing from

The Pope sends an embassy to promote peace between Henry and Becket, 1168.

almost certain confidence that the king will be reconciled to him: "sub certa quasi spe et fiducia quod te in gratiam suam recipiat et Cantuariensem ecclesiam in tua libera dispositione dimittat."

[1] Epp. Alex., 487–8, or ap. *ib.*, p. 437 ff. The former is the "commonitory letter" to Henry, and is dated May 22, 1168; the latter is addressed to the two Commissioners.

[2] Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 515. "Planum est, quod, si petitæ consuetudines prævaluerint, auctoritas apostolicæ sedis in Anglia penitus evanescet, aut erit minima."

[3] See the report of the papal envoys (ap. *Mat.*, vi. p. 488 ff.) and that of Becket (ap. *ib.*, p. 519 ff.) to the Pope. The saint will not do the King's will, "as he has not forgotten what he swore to the Pope and the Roman Church when he received the pallium."

[4] *Ib.*, p. 524.

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Henry but ambiguous words, the papal envoys gave up making any further attempts to lead him into the way of peace.[1]

Excommunication of Gilbert Foliot and others, 1169.

By the arrival of the Lent of 1169, Becket's full spiritual powers were again at his own disposal. This his enemies, and especially "the lean and hungry" Gilbert Foliot, knew full well, and in the beginning of the holy season he endeavoured to anticipate the sentence he knew would fall upon him. He again set up an appeal to Rome.[2] But of this trifling his archbishop took no notice, but solemnly excommunicated him and others on Palm Sunday (April 13).[3] This blow he followed up on Ascension day by further excommunications.

The struggle between the archbishop and the king now entered upon its acute stage, and from this time till after Becket's martyrdom embassies to and from Rome, and letters to and from the Pope, followed one another in rapid and bewildering succession. The excommunications caused the greatest excitement. Those who had been sentenced endeavoured still further to inflame the king against Becket in order that he might be the more energetic in their behalf. Henry, however, did not require much rousing. All his resources,[4] his money and his influence

[1] In their last report to the Pope (*ib.*, p. 517) they wrote: "Deinde rogavimus eum ut scriberet . . . responsum suum . . . *quia tam frequenter responsa variabat.*" *Cf.* ep. St. Thomas (*ib.*, p. 521): "Religiosorum instantiam responsionum varietate delusit."

[2] See his letters to the Pope (*ib.*, p. 535) and to King Henry, ap. *ib.*, 595.

[3] For his reasons for his conduct, *cf.* Froude, p. 399 f. See his ep. to Foliot, ap. *Mat.*, vi. 541. Among those excommunicated with Gilbert were certain nobles like Ranulf de Broc, who had been forward in plundering the property of the church of Canterbury during the exile of its archbishop. The full list of those excommunicated is given ap. *ib.*, p. 601.

[4] Such as the watching of the ports to hinder papal and archiepiscopal correspondence. "Mare . . . clausum est, et portus omnes

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at Rome, were placed at the disposal of those who had been punished by the archbishop.[1]

A third embassy from Rome, 1169.

Alexander, again alarmed at the turn the struggle was taking, appointed fresh envoys to mediate between the disputants, and begged the archbishop meanwhile to suspend his sentence against Gilbert.[2] The envoys were the subdeacon Gratian, a nephew of Eugenius III. and a notary of the Holy See, and Vivian, archdeacon of Orvieto, who was wont to act as advocate in the Roman curia. Both were men learned in the law, but Vivian was suspected, though without reason, of not being above taking a bribe.[3] They had several interviews with Henry during the month of August, and met his blustering with quiet firmness. "By God's eyes," swore our blasphemous monarch with his usual oath, "I will let you see!" "Use no threats to us," replied Gratian, "we fear them not. We come from a court which is wont to give orders to emperors and to kings."[4] Henry, however, continued in his usual style. At one moment he would declare that he cared not an egg for their excommunication, and that if they ventured to lay an interdict on his kingdom, he, who could

circumquaque prohibiti," wrote Foliot, ap. *Mat.*, vi. 607. *Cf.* his letter to the king, ap. *ib.*, p. 596. It was at this time that Henry attempted to bribe the Italian cities and the Pope himself to help him. *Ib.*, vii. 30.

[1] *Cf.* epp. of the king to Foliot (*ib.*, vi. p. 598) and to the Pope (p. 599).

[2] Ep. 619, or ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 1, June 19. He would not order Becket, but: "Monemus, consulimus, volumus, et hortamur."

[3] Herbert de B., iv. c. 28. *Cf.* Will. of Newburgh, iii. 9, for the suspicion. Against the suspicion we have the testimony of St. Thomas himself (who spoke from the evidence of trustworthy men) that Vivian refused the money which Henry offered him on his departure, as he detested the king's base duplicity. Ep. to Gratian, *ib.*, p. 172, and see p. 166. *Cf.* his letter in praise of Vivian, p. 180, and Vivian's declaration to Henry himself (*ib.*, p. 170) that his taking money was a mere assertion of the king.

[4] Ep. of a friend to St. Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 71.

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take the strongest castle in a day, would soon seize the cleric who dared to publish it.[1] But at another, he would proclaim that he ought to be ready to concede much to the prayer of the Pope, for he was his lord and father, and then he would pretend to grant all that was required of him.[2]

Failure of the embassy. Gratian returns, 1169.

Gratian, however, found that he was listening only to idle words; for no sooner had Henry professed his readiness to give up his *customs*, then he signified his intention of retaining his prerogatives (*dignitates*). Accordingly, at the close of September, Gratian returned to his master.[3]

An interdict threatened.

Once again free to act by the collapse of this third embassy, the archbishop proceeded to threaten to lay England under an interdict unless Henry came to terms before the Feast of the Purification (February 2, 1170), and, if that did not avail, he made it known that the king himself would be excommunicated.[4]

As far as in him lay, Henry endeavoured to render the archbishop's threatened sentence impotent. He renewed and extended the orders he had already issued to render inoperative the power of the Pope or of the archbishop in England. Bearers of their letters or of letters to them were to be imprisoned, the goods of such as observed the interdict or favoured the Pope or the archbishop were to be confiscated to the crown, and Peter's Pence was to be expended at the king's order.[5]

[1] *Ib.*, p. 73. "Ego neque vos neque excommunicationes vestras appretior vel dubito unum ovum."

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Herbert de B., *l.c.* The envoys reported Henry as "tergiversatorem, versipellem, tortuosum," etc. On the "consuetudines" and "dignitates" see Will. of Canterbury, c. 65. *Cf.* epp. St. Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 117 and 121.

[4] Epp. St. Thomas, ap. *ib.*, 97 ff.

[5] See these ordinances, ap. *ib.*, p. 147, and compare with them ep. St. Thomas, *ib.*, p. 176. But the last letter shows that it was one thing for Henry to issue tyrannical ordinances, and another to enforce

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When Gratian left France in September, Vivian remained behind still hoping to bring about a reconciliation. But though he brought the king and the archbishop together at Montmartre (November 18, 1169), he effected nothing, but went away saying that Henry was the greatest liar on earth.[1]

A fourth papal commission, Jan. 1170.

Alexander, however, still thinking that the resources of diplomacy were not exhausted, named a new commission consisting of Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, and of Bernard, bishop of Nevers (January 1170). Their instructions were to lay an interdict on Henry's continental dominions if, after forty days, the king should continue to refuse to be reconciled with the archbishop, and to restore their property to those clerics whom he had robbed of it.[2] But, true to his policy of treating both the king and the archbishop to the sweet and to the bitter, he authorised Rotrou to absolve the ambitious Foliot (February 12).[3] Though he no doubt took this high-handed step with a view to promote the cause of peace, as Henry had repeatedly declared that he would never receive the archbishop into favour as long as Foliot was excommunicated, it was assuredly a mistake, and naturally gave Becket the greatest pain.[4] "I know not how it is," he wrote to Cardinal Albert in deep vexation of spirit, "that the cause of Christ is ever being sacrificed in the Roman court, so that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is slain. It is by the authority of the curia that our exile and the misery of

their obedience; for the bishop of Winchester and others promptly declared that they would obey the orders of the Pope and the archbishop. Similar ordinances are given *ib.*, pp. 146 and 150 f.

[1] Ep. of St. Thomas, ap. *ib.* p. 172; *cf.* another letter, p. 163. William, archbishop of Sens, calls him "Proteus," *ib.*, vi. 527.

[2] Ep. Alex., 676. *Cf.* epp. 677–679, or ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 198 ff.

[3] Ep. Alex., 680, to Foliot (February 12); *cf.* ep. 681, or *ib.*, pp. 208 and 273.

[4] See his letters of remonstrance, *ib.*, p. 278 ff.

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the Church have been prolonged for six years. . . . For my part, I will never trouble it more."[1] In the bitterness of his soul he could not make sufficient allowance for the Pope, then an exile like himself, and in difficulties with the Romans.[2] He could scarcely realise the troubles in which Alexander was perpetually immersed, and how hard it was for him to find out the truth, perpetually besieged as he was by the perjured agents of a lying king.[3] Alexander still had to do rather what he could than what he would.[4]

The coronation of Henry, *Curt Mantle*, 1170.

The next step in the great struggle, and it proved a decisive one, was taken by our Protean sovereign. He decided to crown his son Henry, and to make him the nominal ruler of England. Probably many motives urged him to take this step. Perhaps the first was his desire to establish his dynasty in England as firmly as possible whilst he lived;[5] but no doubt an additional very strong motive was a wish to strike another blow, with as much impunity as possible, against his archbishop, and against the independence of the Church in England.[6] He realised that the Pope was

[1] *Ib.*, p. 279. *Cf.* his letter to Gratian, *ib.*, p. 282, and the letters of Becket's fellow-exiles, *ib.*, p. 283 ff.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 101 ff.

[3] The king's agents: "vobis nihil aliud quam mendacia de rege . . . afferunt ut decipiant. Quidquid enim rex agit vobiscum dolus est et nequitia." Ep. to Becket, *Mat.*, vii. 310.

[4] *Cf.* the letter of Cardinal Hyacinth to Louis, already quoted. Ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. 25, and John of S., ep. 183, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 186. "Sed ejus (Alexander's) necessitates tot et tantæ, tanta aviditas et improbitas Romanorum ut interdum utatur licentia potestatis, procuretque ex dispensatione quod reipublicæ dicitur expedire, etsi non expediat religioni."

[5] According to Fitz-Stephens, c. 10, the country did not wish for the son's coronation: "Præter spem et opinionem omnium fere totius regni, subito fecit coronari."

[6] Hence John of S., *in vit.*, c. 20, says that the coronation was brought about by those who hated the peace of the Church: "procurantibus his qui ecclesiæ pacem oderant," and, adds Grim (c. 58), who strove to destroy the Church's freedom: "ipsi libertatem ecclesiæ

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beginning to speak with a stronger voice, and that, if he remained king of England, an interdict would soon be placed on the country.[1] He accordingly asked the Pope to grant permission to Roger of York to crown his son; and his envoys, we are assured, boldly asserted that they had received the desired permission.[2] This, like so much

subvertere nisi sunt." Herbert of Bosham (iv. 30) expressly asserts that Henry brought about the coronation: "odio archipræsulis." William of Canterbury gives both motives: "Et erant qui dicerent quia successuro sibi præcaveret hæredi. Asseverabant alii quia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ derogaret dignitati" (c. 73). These, in fine, are the two motives assigned by Henry himself, when upbraided on the subject by St. Thomas at the "reconciliation" conference of Fréteval: "Rex autem causam coronationis . . . assignans, tum statum regni, tum iram quam in Cantuariensem exercuerat." Ep. to Ralph de Serres, ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 341. *Cf.* a letter of two French bishops to Alex., ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 227.

[1] "Filio suo ita subito coronato, propter aliquod consequens quod potuit contingere; et si quid mali contigisset, non deberet propter eum puniri regnum, cujus ipse rex non esset." This opinion, says Fitz-Stephens (c. 104), which was entertained by many at the time of the coronation, was strengthened by subsequent events.

[2] See the ep. last quoted: "Apud nostrates celebre est, præfati nuntii ejus gloriati sunt se et hanc novi regis coronationem obtinuisse a vobis." *Cf.* ep. St. Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 294. There is extant a letter *without any address*, and in most MSS. where it occurs without any date, which from its title purports to be addressed to Roger of York by the Pope, giving him permission to crown the king's son. Ep. 455, or ap. *Mat.*, vi. 206. Lingard (*Hist.*, ii. p. 77 n.) calls it "a manifest forgery." One thing at any rate seems certain: it was not issued in the year 1170. It contains expressions of goodwill towards Henry which at this period Alexander neither privately entertained nor publicly expressed, and it is opposed to documents of certain and acknowledged authenticity. One editor, presumably from some MS. authority, dates it from "Rome, at S. Maria Nuova's, June 17." Now it is known that Alexander was issuing letters in June from that church in 1167. Hence it might be thought that it was written when the siege of Rome by Frederick had reduced the Pope to straits. Still there is no evidence that there was at that time any question of crowning the younger Henry, and the fact is that the letter *certainly* belongs to the year 1161. On the death of Archbishop Theobald (April 18, 1161) there was question of crowning the young Henry (ep. St Thomas, ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 331), and it is certain (*ib.*) that there were negotiations with

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else that was said by Henry's agents, was false; for on February 26, Alexander expressly forbade Roger "to crown the king of England's son."[1] But it was very difficult to place the Pope's letters in York's hands, because the ports were very strictly watched. However, they were "delivered to the archbishop of York and to the bishop of London on the Saturday before the Sunday of the coronation of the said king. . . . None the less was he crowned (June 14)."[2] and received his share of the territories which Henry then nominally made over to his sons.

The reconciliation of Fréteval, July 22, 1170.

The king had now to face the consequences of his utter disregard of the authority of Rome and Canterbury in his son's coronation. The Pope, declaring that "the cause of

Rome about the bishop who was to crown the young king during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury. It was at that time that Roger got the permission on which he pretended to rest in 1170. And we know (Jaffé, ii. p. 153) that Alexander was also issuing letters from S. Maria Nuova in the June of 1161. But at that date Roger was in disgrace with Henry, who declared that he would rather see his son beheaded than that Roger should lay his heretical hands upon him. (*Ib.*) Of course the concession of 1161 lapsed by non-usage, and, as the saint goes on to say, the later prohibition (of February 1170) in any case annulled the earlier permission.

[1] Ep. 695 of Alex. *Cf.* ep. 696, or ap. *Mat.*, vii. 217 and 216.

[2] Fitz-Stephens, c. 101. Several copies of the Pope's letters were seized and destroyed. *Cf.* a letter to Becket, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 309. The writer of this letter also says that the coronation was directed against the archbishop: "Hoc (the coronation) autem fit contra vos, ut nec diutius liceat etiam sperare de pace." After this and the other quotations we have given, it is hard to understand what justification Mr. G. B. Adams can have for saying: "No explanation is given us in any contemporary account of the motives which led to this coronation," etc., vol. ii. p. 303 of *The Political Hist. of England.* But inaccuracy is encouraged when historians are absolved from the necessity of citing their authorities. Though *The Polit. Hist.* was published seventy-five years after Lingard, the student will still prefer the latter for the period covered by him, as he makes no statement that his notes do not enable one to test by reference to the original sources. Speaking broadly, the authors of *The Polit. Hist.* have not cited any authorities.

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the archbishop was his cause and that of the Church,"[1] and apologising to him if the difficulties in which he has been placed have made him appear remiss in his support, suspended Roger of York, and excommunicated Gilbert of London and Jocelin of Salisbury for their disobedience in the crowning of the young Henry, till such times as they should make satisfaction to the archbishop of Canterbury.[2]

However, before the despatch of these letters, Henry had become reconciled to the archbishop. The Pope's threat of interdict was hanging over him, and St. Thomas was preparing to put it into effect,[3] when it was suggested to him "that there was no use keeping the archbishop out of the country, but that he would be much better kept in it. The king was quick to understand the hint, and promptly arranged a meeting with the archbishop."[4] A conference was accordingly held between them in a place which was afterwards "known to the people of the country as the Valley of the Traitors."[5] It was near the castle of Fréteval, in the district of Chartres. Henry showed himself most gracious. In the words of the archbishop: "he did not even allude to the *customs*. He exacted no oath from us or from anyone belonging to us. He granted to us the possessions which he had taken from our Church during the course of the quarrel, according to the enumeration of them in our own schedule, and promised peace and a safe return to all of us."[6]

But no sooner had the archbishop sent his agents to England to reclaim the confiscated property, when it

Henry does not fulfil the terms of the reconciliation.

[1] Ep. 742, or ap. *Mat.*, vii. 299, an. 1170.

[2] Epp. 762, 3, 4, 5, and 776, 7; or ap. *ib.*, p. 357 ff., September 1170.

[3] Epp. ap. *ib.*, p. 320 ff.

[4] Fitz-Stephens, c. 104.

[5] Demimuid, *St. Thomas*, p. 157.

[6] Ep. St. Thomas to the Pope, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 326–7. *Cf.* another letter, p. 384, and Henry's letters announcing the peace granted "for love of God and the Pope," *ib.*, pp. 343 f., 346 f.

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appeared that he had obtained from Henry as usual nothing but words.[1] His rights were contemned, and his officials and tenants outraged. Moreover, there was brought to light a design of the king to get the elections to the vacant sees in England held abroad, and the chosen candidates consecrated by the Pope "to the detriment of the church of Canterbury and its archbishop."[2] Hence, though the archbishop's agents showed to his adherents in England the king's letters patent, they would not believe that any real reconciliation had taken place;[3] nor indeed would some of the cardinals of Rome.[4] Alexander himself became indignant at the reports of the king's unfaithfulness which reached him, and wrote thus to the archbishop: "In case the king refuse to fulfil the peace which he has arranged with you, by restoring to you and yours all the rights and possessions you have been deprived of, we grant you plenary authority, in accordance with the functions committed to you, to execute, without appeal, the sentence of the Church on the persons and places subject to your legation, excepting only on the king, his wife, and his sons (October)."[5] In the following month he so far, at the archbishop's request,[6] modified his letters of September against the bishops who had crowned Henry, as to leave their execution in the hands

[1] See the letter to him of his agents, *ib.*, p. 389. *Cf.* the letters of p. 384 f. ("Nihil adhuc ab eo præter verba potuimus impetrare"), and of p. 401. See also a letter of John of S., ep. 300, or ap. *ib.*, p. 408: "Nam triduo antequam applicarem (I landed in England), omnia bona d. Cantuariensis et suorum annotata fuerant, procuratoribus suis ab administratione summotis."

[2] Ep. of the agents just cited, p. 391.

[3] *Ib.*, and the letter of John of Salisbury just quoted.

[4] See the letter of Cardinal Albert, ap. *ib.*, p. 369. By this time the majority of the cardinals were in his favour; see the letter to him of Humbold, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, *ib.*, p. 373.

[5] Ep. 773, or ap. *ib.*, p. 382 f., October 13, 1170. *Cf.* epp. 769 and 771 (October 9), or ap. *ib.*, p. 376 ff.

[6] Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 384 ff.

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of Becket.[1] It must be carefully noted that this concession was not granted by Alexander till November 24, and hence could not have been in the archbishop's hands when he published the original September letters.

The more vigorously the Pope acted, the more anxious did Henry become that the archbishop should return to England,[2] and though St. Thomas found the king untrue to one engagement after another, and though he received one warning after another not to return to England, he declared that he would go there to die.[3] Accordingly, acting on the conditions of his reconciliation with Henry, he sent forward the Pope's letters which suspended Roger of York, and recalled London and Salisbury, under sentence of excommunication for their share in the coronation (November 30),[4] and, embarking at Witsand, landed at Sandwich on December the first.

The archbishop returns to England, Dec. 1, 1170.

The news of the excommunication of the bishops and the

Great commotion in England.

[1] Epp. 776–7, November 24, or ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 397 ff.

[2] Fitz-Stephens, c. 111. *Cf.* a letter of Henry to the saint, ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 400.

[3] Fitz-Stephens, *ib.* *Cf.* his letter to Henry, ap. *M.*, vii. 394–5.

[4] Fitz-Stephens, c. 114; Herbert de B., v. 5; John of S., c. 21; and the letter of St. Thomas to the Pope describing his return, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 401 ff. *Cf.* also Henry's letter of complaint to Alexander (*ib.*, p. 418 ff.), and that of Arnulf of Lisieux to the same, *ib.*, p. 423. St. Thomas points out that it was with Henry's consent that proceedings were taken against the bishops. At the time of the reconciliation, when the archbishop complained to the king of the insubordination of his suffragans, "permisit d. rex transgressionem delinquentium puniri, et quæ fiebant adversum nos ad condignam satisfactionem interventu justitiæ compelli." Will. of Cant., c. 9. *Cf.* Fitz-Stephens, c. 107, ap. *Mat.*, iii. p. 110. *Cf.* c. 109. See especially the letter of Theobald, count of Blois, to Alexander, ap. *ib.*, vii. 434. He tells us he was present when the reconciliation between Henry and the archbishop took place, and is prepared to swear to the truth of what he asserts. Becket complained to the king of the action of the bishops in crowning his son, "and the king gave him free and lawful power over them, that, at your Holiness's pleasure or at his own, he might pass sentence on them."

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landing of the archbishop caused the greatest excitement. The people were delighted beyond measure; but the false bishops, and all such as had benefited by the archbishop's difficulties with the king, were furious. The latter at once thought of force, the former of guile. Immediately, therefore, on the archbishop's landing, the episcopal party endeavoured to impose on his foreign companions "an oath to which," wrote the saint to the Pope, "for the sake of precedent I could not consent, as it was a profession of allegiance to our kings alone, without any exception in your favour or in that of anyone else. If such an oath were exacted from the clergy of the realm, your authority would be at an end or would be very much curtailed."[1]

These words are another manifestation of the fact that the chief end which St. Thomas had in view in his six years' struggle against the arbitrary will of a tyrannical king was the maintenance of the free exercise of the Pope's spiritual authority in this land. For that he contended both before his exile and during its long duration, and for that he strove on his return. Hence, when laying before the young king in England the grievances under which were groaning both the whole English Church and the church of Canterbury in particular, he complained bitterly of the closing of the ports. "Since those on this side of the Channel cannot leave the island, and those on the other side cannot come to it, the liberty of the English Church is imprisoned in order that it may not be subject to the jurisdiction of the successors of Blessed Peter, and the power of the Roman Church is diminished in order that it may not be able to continue the ordinary despatch of its mandates."[2]

[1] Ep. ap. *Mat.*, vii. 401 ff.

[2] "Cum enim cismarini non permittantur exire, vel ad nos transmeare transmarini, quid aliud est quam carcerali custodia libertatem Anglicanæ ecclesiæ coercere, ne successorem b. Petri jurisdictioni

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Throughout the whole of this history of the struggle of St. Thomas against Henry, special attention has been called to the fact that the real object of the contest between them was the authority of the Pope in our land. This has been insisted upon because it is so generally lost sight of. It is not, however, supposed that the claims of the Pope were the only ones for which the archbishop contended. He strove too for what was bound up with the authority of the Pope; he strove for the independence of the English Church, for the rights of the clerical order, for the privileges of his see, and last, but not least, for the rights of the great mass of the people,—"the little people, *minutus populus*," as the chroniclers call them. St. Thomas was, therefore, the true champion not only of the Pope and the Church, but of the people.

The bishops demand absolution.

Whether Becket was wise or not in publishing the Pope's letters against the English bishops at this time,[1] he was fully resolved to abide by the consequences of his act. Accordingly, when in their master's name the king's officials called on him to absolve the bishops, he replied that it was not in his power to loose where the Pope had bound; for he was evidently not yet in possession of Alexander's letter of November 24, giving him discretionary power in this matter.[2] If, however, he said, they would take an oath to

subjiciatur, Romanæque potestatem diminuere, ne per provincias consuetudinario mandatorum privilegio, negotia sua prosequatur." Will. of Cant., *Vita*, c. 24.

[1] Some blamed his action as imprudent. *Anon. II.* (Lambeth) *in vit.*, c. 40.

[2] It is estimated that "a practised courier would perform the journey by land from Rome to Wissant in six weeks." Rule, *St. Anselm*, i. 366. In connection with this estimate, I note that the *Chronica de gestis cons. Andegavorum*, p. 104, states that about the year 1009 a journey from Loches to Rome took thirty days. Hence it may well be that the Pope's letter of November 24 from Tusculum would not have even reached Witsand (Wissant) before St. Thomas had been martyred.

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obey the papal decision in their case, he would in the meantime take upon himself to enter into communion with them.

They appeal to the king, Dec. 1170.

This condition, at once reasonable and in accordance with custom, commended itself to most of the bishops, for "they did not think it right, in order to preserve the *customs* of the realm, to put themselves in opposition to the Church, and to impugn the decrees of the Pope."[1] But the arguments of their evil genius, Roger of York, prevailed over them; they crossed the sea, and appealed to the king, telling him he would have no peace as long as Thomas lived.[2] Henry flew into one of his paroxysms of rage, and, as he had done more than once before, railed against devoted followers who would not rid him of a single priest.

Martyrdom of St. Thomas.

This time his evil words bore evil fruit. Four knights set out for England, burst into the archbishop's presence, and bade him absolve the bishops. "Whoever," replied the intrepid prelate, "has presumed to violate the commands (*instituta*) of the holy Roman See, and the rights of the Church of Christ, and will not make satisfaction, him will I not spare whoever he is."[3]—"From whom then," cried Fitz-Urse, one of the four, "do you hold your archbishopric?"—"Its spirituals from God and the Pope, its temporalities from the king."—"Will you not acknowledge that you hold everything from the king?"—"Never! We must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." And when they proceeded to threaten him, he quietly continued: "Were all the swords

[1] Ep. St. Thos., ap. *Mat.*, vii. pp. 405–6. *Cf.* the anonymous *Life* just cited, c. 43; Herbert of B., v. c. 7.

[2] Fitz-Stephens, c. 126. William, archbishop of Sens, was perfectly justified in calling Roger an "archdevil" (ep. ap. *Mat.*, vii. 433), as, according to Garnier, it was he who even encouraged the four knights to murder St. Thomas.

[3] Grim, c. 78.

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of England to hang over my head, they could not deter me from rendering homage to God and obedience to the Pope."[1]

There is no call for us to tell the rest. At nightfall of December 29, 1170, one of England's noblest sons laid down his life in his cathedral of Canterbury for the preservation in this land of the rights of Alexander III., successor of St. Peter. Or, as it is far otherwise expressed by Robert de Monte: "On the fifth day after Christmas the very flower of the world was plucked from it, and on the self-same day began to be the fruit of heaven."[2]

A universal call to the Pope to punish Henry, 1171.

Hardly had the savage cries of the brutal murderers of St. Thomas ceased to echo in the dim recesses of his cathedral, than well-nigh every vaulted roof in Christendom rang with denunciations of the tyrant who was felt to be responsible for the sacrilege. "The report of this dreadful outrage," writes William of Newburgh, "quickly pervading every district of the Western world, sullied the illustrious king of England, and so obscured his fair fame among Christian potentates that, as it could scarcely be believed to have been perpetrated without his consent and mandate, he was attacked by the imprecations of almost all, and it was deemed fitting that he should be publicly banned."[3] Hence while every chronicler in Europe was in his quiet cell recording the martyrdom, the men of action, especially those in France, were busy either calling on the Pope to act, or acting themselves. William, archbishop of Sens, at once published the threatened papal interdict over Henry's

[1] "Frustra mihi minamini; si omnes gladii Angliæ capiti meo immineant, ab observatione justitiæ Dei et obedientia d. Papæ terrores vestri non me dimovere poterunt." Fitz-Stephens, cc. 134–5.

[2] *Chron.*, 1171.

[3] *Hist.*, ii. 25. *Cf.* the letter of William, archb. of Sens, to Alex., ap. *Mat.*, vii. 429. He knows not how to tell the Pope, who lives "on the watch-tower of the world," what the strong cry of the world must have already told him about the archbishop's death.

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continental dominions; for, as he said, he knew "that the man who would not obey the Pope's orders was a pagan."[1] The king of France, and the procurator of his kingdom, Theobald, count of Blois, called on the Pope to "unsheathe the sword of Peter and avenge the martyr of Canterbury,"[2] and the bishops of Louis's realm imitated his example.[3]

Henry sends envoys to the Pope, 1171.

Whether Henry was really grieved or not when he heard of the death of the archbishop,[4] he found it advisable to feign profound affliction, and sent an important embassy to propitiate the Pope. Alexander, at any rate, seems to have been overwhelmed with sorrow when the news of the archbishop's martyrdom reached him. He was a prey to remorse. He felt that the saint's cruel death was the result of his half-hearted measures in his behalf. For eight days he would not see anyone, and gave a general order that no Englishman should be admitted into his presence.[5]

[1] Ep. of Will. to the Pope, ap. *ib.*, p. 440 ff. "Scientes quod vitium paganitatis incurrit quisquis mandatis apostolicis obedire contempserit."

[2] Ep. of Louis to the Pope, ap. *ib.*, p. 428. *Cf.* ep. of Theobald, p. 433 f. Such men as Peter de la Celle immediately proclaimed the murdered archbishop a true martyr (epp. ii. 128, 117, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202), and congratulated England on having given birth to such a noble character. Ep. ii. 169, ap. *ib.*

[3] See ep. of the bishop of Meaux, ap. *ib.*, p. 446.

[4] His acts in rewarding the enemies of St. Thomas with bishoprics, etc., and in not making any effort to punish the murderers, callous remarks in his message to the monks of Canterbury regarding the burial of the saint (ap. Will. of Cant., c. 33), and his excusatory letter to the Pope (ap. *Mat.*, vii. 440), full of false statements, seem somewhat to give the lie to the frantic grief to which, according to Arnulf of Lisieux (*ib.*, p. 438), he gave way. *Cf.* the strong letter addressed to Henry by Bernard Corilo or de la Coudre, where he calls upon the king to punish the murderers, and to go to Rome; for at Rome is a pool of Siloe, interpreted *sent* (in Latin *missus*, in Greek *apostolus*); for there is the *Apostolic* See which receives sinners to repentance. Bernard's ep., *ib.*, p. 459. See also the Lansdowne MS., ap. *ib.*, iv. p. 160 ff.

[5] Ep. of a king's messenger to Richard, archdeacon of Poitiers, ap. *ib.*, p. 475.

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Most of the cardinals even refused to see Henry's embassy.[1] But the ambassadors did not lose heart, and at length contrived to get a hearing from some of their master's old supporters among the cardinals. They assured them that Henry neither wished nor ordered the archbishop's death, though they did not deny that by the angry words he had uttered he had indirectly been the cause of his death.[2] All, however, that they could obtain from their friends was that the Pope would see them on Maunday Thursday (March 25).

The Pope's award, 1171.

Alexander would only receive the envoys from England at a public audience. Utterly dissatisfied with the short letter, full of gross misstatements, which Henry had sent to him,[3] he was only mollified when the envoys swore that their master and the bishops would in their own persons take an oath to abide by the Pope's decision on the matter. Alexander, accordingly, contented himself at first with excommunicating in general terms the murderers of the archbishop, and their aiders and abettors. After Easter, however, he went further; he confirmed the interdict of the archbishop of Sens, and Becket's suspension of York, London, and Salisbury; and ordered Henry to refrain from entering a church till he should send legates to see if he were sufficiently humble[4] (May).

He sends legates.

These legates he was in no hurry to despatch. He would give Henry time to reflect on the difference between him-

[1] See the letter of Henry's envoys to their master, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 471 ff. *Cf.* Will. of New., ii. 25.

[2] With the last letter compare on these negotiations at Rome two other letters (*ib.*, p. 475 ff. and p. 479 ff.) from envoys of the king or the excommunicated bishops.

[3] *E.g.* "Ipse (Becket) vero in ingressu suo, . . . contra me de regno et corona proposuit quæstionem." Ep. ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 440.

[4] See note 3. *Cf.* Boso, *Vit. Alex.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 425. One envoy declared that it was the French who brought about this firm action: "Non enim tam Romani quam Galli vos judicant."

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self, the most powerful monarch in Europe, deprived of a right which belonged to the meanest of his subjects, and the archbishop he had done to death, upon whose memory the fame of an heroic death and the glory of miracles wrought at his tomb were causing honour to be poured from *every country* in Europe.

Apparently it was not till the autumn that Alexander despatched cardinals Albert of St. Lawrence in Lucina, afterwards Gregory VIII., and Theodwine of St. Vitalis, to inquire into the guilt and dispositions of Henry. When they reached Normandy, they found that Henry was in Ireland, whither some, probably without reason, thought he had betaken himself to avoid rendering the account demanded of him.[1] The legates at once notified him of their arrival, and meanwhile entered into negotiations with the monks of Canterbury for the reconciliation of the cathedral (December 21, 1171).[2] It was not till May that Henry was able to return to Normandy and meet the legates.[3] The first conference between them took place at Savigny, and, as we learn from the king himself, he found the cardinals very uncompromising (*duros*).[4]

[1] Ep. of Herbert de B. to the cardinals, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 510. In this letter Herbert blames the moderation of the Pope in releasing York, London, and Salisbury from ecclesiastical censures. *Cf.* also the Lansdowne MS. 389 (British Museum, ap. *Mat.*, iv. p. 145 ff.). The third fragment of the MS. to which we are here referring (p. 169) was composed "very near Becket's own time." Henry left Normandy for England and Ireland on August 1, 1171. The MS. notes that the expenses of the cardinals were provided by the Pope, in order that they might not receive presents from anyone. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 125 ff., shows that Henry had abundant reason for the invasion of Ireland apart from any wish to escape the consequences of the murder of St. Thomas.

[2] The MS. *Cf.* papal and other documents, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 531.

[3] "Jam transacto ferme dimidio anno postquam legati in Galliam venerant." MS., p. 170. *Cf.* Eyton, *Itinerary*, p. 165 ff.

[4] Ep. to Bartholomew, bp. of Exeter, ap. *Mat.*, vii. 529. *Cf.* MS., *ib.*

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However, at a second meeting at Avranches, after Henry had sworn that he had not ordered or wished the death of St. Thomas, but that he had used angry words which had incited some of his followers, conditions were agreed upon. According to Henry himself, he promised to support two hundred soldiers for a year in the Holy Land; to permit appeals to Rome; to give up the *customs* which had been *introduced in his time* ("which I consider," he interjected, "are either very few or none at all"); and to restore the possessions of the church of Canterbury and those of the exiles.[1] Furthermore, as the actual formula of his oath shows,[2] he agreed to take the cross for three years, and, along with Henry Curt Mantle, not to recede from the obedience of Alexander (May 22).

After this oath had been duly sworn, Henry was solemnly introduced into the cathedral by the cardinals, and absolved from all ecclesiastical censures.[3] Of this ancient church, which looked out so gloriously to the towering rock and fortress of Mont St. Michel and to the isles of the sea, the violence of the French Revolution has not left a stone upon a stone. But a modern inscription marks the spot where on Sunday, May 22, 1172, Henry "received on his knees the papal absolution at the hands of the Pope's legates."

In the interval between the martyrdom of St. Thomas and this absolution of Henry, the unworthy bishops, Roger of York, Foliot of London, and Jocelin of Salisbury had also, with the Pope's consent, been freed from ecclesiastical censures. They had sworn that they were not privy to the

[1] Ep., *l.c.*

[2] Ap. Boso, *L. P.*, ii. 425 f. *Cf.* Hoveden, an. 1172, and the reports of the cardinals, etc. Ap. *Mat.*, vii. 513 ff. According to the first of these documents, he also agreed to compromise over any evil *customs* introduced before his time. *Ib.*, p. 515.

[3] The document *De reconciliatione regis*, *ib.*, p. 516.

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archbishop's death, had not received in time the Pope's letter forbidding them to crown Henry Curt Mantle, and had not on the occasion of the coronation bound themselves to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon.[1]

Canonisation of St. Thomas, 1173.

It had hardly become generally known that Thomas Becket had closed his vigorous struggle for ecclesiastical liberty by martyrdom, than a strong cry arose from all sides, especially from the Gallican Church, to the apostolic throne, calling on Alexander to proclaim him a saint.[2] Nor were the archbishop's friends slow to express their dissatisfaction that their demands were not complied with immediately.[3] Unable, however, wrote Alexander to the chapter of Canterbury, to resist "the public fame of the archbishop's miracles, and the testimony of our beloved sons, the cardinals Albert and Theodwine, and others in whom we place full confidence, and having moreover taken counsel with our brethren in the Church, before a large multitude of the clergy and of the laity, we have solemnly canonised him, . . . and we command you and the whole English Church by apostolical authority to solemnise his

[1] The bishops induced a number of persons to intercede for them to the Pope. *Cf.* the letters, *ib.*, pp. 490–513. The terms of the oath taken in behalf of Roger will be found *ib.*, p. 502. One of his *compurgators* was the famous Vacarius, who to large numbers both of rich and poor taught "Roman jurisprudence in England" (Rob. de Monte, an. 1149). The last letter on this subject of the absolution of the bishops is the one from Herbert de B. to the cardinal legates, already quoted, in which he says that the Pope's mercy to them has had a bad effect on discipline (*ib.*, pp. 510–3). This letter also mentions the penance of William de Tracy, one of the murderers of St. Thomas. After an interval of about two years, during which, by the king's favour, they braved public opinion, the murderers went to ask pardon of the Pope, and are said by Hoveden (an. 1171) to have died in Palestine. *Cf.* also the Lansdowne MS., p. 162 ff., and Will of New., ii. 25.

[2] *Cf.* the letter of Herb. de B. to Alex., ap. *Mat.*, vii. 531; ep. Alex., 1034, or *ib.*, 549; and Boso, *in vit. Alex.*, p. 426.

[3] See a letter of John of S. to William, archbishop of Sens, ep. 306, or ap. *M.*, vii. 524.

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feast on the day on which he finished his life by a glorious martyrdom." [1]

Honorius III. sanctions the translation of the relics of St. Thomas, Jan. 25, 1220.

After Rome had thus spoken, devotion to St. Thomas grew apace throughout all Europe, but especially, of course, in England. As the old Icelandic saga expresses it: "The love and miracles of the holy Thomas so enkindled the hearts of the English people, that, by the consent and agreement of the lord Pope, they will endure no longer that their most glorious father shall lie so low in the crypt as when first he was entombed, but rather desire that he be honoured and raised into a worthy place, in order that all folk may bow to him, and become partakers of his merits." [2] Pope Honorius III. was accordingly approached, and on January 25, 1220, he issued a bull authorising the translation of the relics to a more honourable position,[3] and granted an indulgence of a year and forty days to those who should visit the new shrine.[4]

The fruit of the death of St. Thomas.

From the foregoing one thing at least is clear. As far as St. Thomas himself was concerned, he did not die in vain. Till the end of time there will be those who will call him blessed. But it is almost equally clear that he did not die in vain as far as others were concerned. He was beyond all doubt a martyr to civil as well as to religious liberty. The Constitutions of Clarendon, so far from becoming the law of the land, were wholly rejected in theory, and even in the arbitrary practice of our Angevin kings were consider-

[1] Ep. 1023, March 12, or ap. *ib.*, p. 545, Hutton's translation. *Cf.* epp. 1021, 1024, etc. The Pope himself said Mass in honour of the saint on February 2. *Cf.* Boso, *l.c.*

[2] Saga, ii. 196.

[3] Ap. *Mat.*, vii. 582.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 585. The bishops had already granted an indulgence of forty days for a limited period: "iisdem nos ipsi dies relaxamus 40 de injunctis iis pœnitentiis; vestris vero precibus inclinati, quod super hoc a vobis et ipsis factum est decrevimus ad unius anni et prædictorum 40 dierum remissionem perpetuis temporibus valiturum."

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ably modified. The story too of his heroic resistance to the arbitrary will of a tyrant fired the hearts of men; and from his death our oppressed countrymen drew their courage to rise against the violator of their most cherished liberties, and to wring Magna Carta from the strong grasp of John Lackland. Had Henry VIII. been met by a St. Thomas, the laws of that lustful tyrant against the Roman See would in all probability never have found a place among the statutes of our realm, nor would the head of Charles I. have been demanded by a people resolved not to be again deprived by force of their civil and religious freedom.

Richard, the new archbishop of Canterbury.

When the cardinals Albert and Theodwine were on the eve of their return to Rome, they issued a letter to the clergy of the vacant sees in England informing them that the king had granted that the election to bishoprics should be free,[1] and bidding them choose suitable candidates.[2] As usual, Henry's words had no relation to his intending acts, and he succeeded in forcing his own creatures into all the vacant sees except that of Canterbury. Odo, the prior of Canterbury, was a man of character, and, boldly standing out for a free election, brought about the rejection of the king's candidate, the plastic bishop of Bayeux (1172).[3] In the following year various attempts were made in vain to

[1] Henry himself informed the Pope that: "libertatem . . . circa institutiones ecclesiarum" long possessed by his ancestors "ad æquitatem canonicæ moderationis temperavimus" at the prayers of the cardinals. Ep. ap. *ib.*, 553.

[2] Ep. ap. *ib.*, 552. *Cf.* the Lansdowne MS., p. 173.

[3] Gervase, *Hist.*, an. 1172, i. p. 240, R. S. The election was complicated by a dispute between the bishops and the monks of Canterbury, who wished to have the exclusive right to elect the metropolitan. *Cf.* epp. of Peter of Blois and of Foliot, ap. *Mat.*, vii. p. 543, and p. 556 f. The latter, writing to the king, calls on him to limit the power of the monks in the election, as they are not bound to him in any way, and to increase that of the bishops: "qui vobis aut hominio aut fidelitate obligati."

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fill the see; but at length, on June 3, all, monks, bishops, and the elder king, agreed to the election of Richard, prior of Dover. Preparations were being made for his consecration when a letter was received by the monks of Canterbury from Henry Curt Mantle. It set forth that it appeared that his father was attempting to place both in Canterbury and in other sees unsuitable persons. "By our regal unction we have received the care of the whole kingdom, and such things must not be done without our consent." Wherefore we have appealed to the Roman See, and have lodged this our appeal in the hands of the cardinal legates Albert and Theodwine.[1] The appeal of the young king was met by a counter-appeal on the part of the monks and the bishops; and the archbishop-elect betook himself to Rome. Alexander sustained the election, and on April 7, 1174, himself consecrated Richard at Anagni, granting him the primacy and the office of apostolic legate.[2] Gervase of Canterbury closes his account of these transactions with a remark which serves to remind us of the general situation of the Church in the year 1174. He tells us that the journey to and from Rome cost Richard a very large sum of money, "for the emperor's chancellor, through hatred of Pope Alexander, had effectively blockaded the passes of the Alps, and it was with the greatest difficulty that any of our people could get to him by sea."

Rebellion of Henry's sons, 1173-4.

The attentive reader will have noticed that in this affair of the election of Richard and the other new bishops there was dissension between Henry Curt Mantle and his father, and he would have thought more seriously of it had we

[1] Gervase, *ib.*, p. 245.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 247. *Cf.* epp. Alex., 1133-4; Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, 1174, ii. 58 f., R. S.; and Diceto, *Ymag.*, 1174, i. p. 387, R. S. From ep. Alex., 1137, May 14, 1174, we see that the Pope really supported Richard's legatine authority, as he showed himself anxious to stop the abuse of appeals to Rome against the archbishop.

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already quoted a letter of one of the bishops-elect to the elder Henry. The document explained that Alexander only granted the office of legate to Richard because the envoys of Henry II. earnestly desired that "he should have full power of inflicting ecclesiastical vengeance upon those men of your realms who have . . . raised the heel against your innocence."[1] And it went on to say that the Pope refused to settle the question of the other elections "until such time as your son shall have been brought to a reconciliation."

The fact is that Henry Curt Mantle was in rebellion. Henry II. of England was to be punished for his evil deeds in the same way as Henry IV. of Germany had been. His sons were to scourge him before he bared his shoulders to the monks of Canterbury. The prophetic warnings of St. Thomas were to be realised. In the second year of his exile he had begged Henry to give freedom to the Church, and had added: "If you do not, I fear that the sword will never depart from your house."[2]

Of a pliable disposition, the younger Henry, urged on by some of the nobles who disliked the strong rule of his father, demanded some portion of his inheritance in which he might exercise independent power. When his request was refused, he fled to the court of Louis, and was joined by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey. Civil war at once broke out in England and Normandy, and the kings of France and Scotland invaded Henry's territories.

[1] Ep. of Reginald, bishop-elect of Bath, to the Pope. Ap. Hoveden, *l.c.*

[2] Ep. ap. *Mat.*, v. p. 268: "Alioquin vereor (quod Deus avertat!) ne non deficiat gladius de domo vestra." The intrepid Bernard de Corilo, when denouncing Henry for the death of St. Thomas, had bidden him: "Prepare your soul for tribulation." *Ib.*, vii. p. 458. And John of Salisbury, writing about 1159, laid it down that: "Procul dubio quisquis ecclesiasticam deprimit libertatem, aut punitur in se, aut punitur in sobole." Polycrat., vii. 20.

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This was a cruel blow to Henry, who was at least a fond father, and in his despair he turned to those he had himself wronged—to Alexander and to St. Thomas. He poured out his grief to the Pope, imploring his counsel. "The kingdom of England," he pleaded, "is under your jurisdiction, and as far as feudal claims are concerned I am answerable only to you.[1] Let England now learn what the Roman pontiff can do, and, since he does not use a material sword, let him defend the Patrimony of Blessed Peter with the sword of the Spirit. . . . Turn the hearts of the children to their father . . . and I will obey your directions in everything."

Henry II. turns to Alexander for sympathy and support, 1173.

The Pope did not turn a deaf ear to the desolate father, but despatched the saintly Peter, archbishop of Tarentaise, to the king of the French in order to promote peace between Henry and his sons.[2] A conference was held in September (1173), and Henry, after generously offering revenues and castles to his sons, undertook to submit himself entirely to the arbitration of the papal legates in the matter of the amount of money he ought to give. But, as the chronicler adds, it did not suit the designs of the king of France that the sons should make peace with the father. The conference was broken up, and the war was renewed.

In the midst of his troubles the unhappy father turned also to the friend he had done to death, and made his famous penitential pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas in July 1174. He was rewarded for his humility by learning

Henry's penance at Canterbury, July 12, 1174.

[1] "Vestræ jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ, et quantum ad feudatarii juris obligationem vobis duntaxat obnoxius teneor." Ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 1389. Nothing could bring out more clearly the political idea of the age than this sentence. Europe was conceived as a feudal whole of which the Pope was the supreme suzerain, or at least the final judge of appeal in case of misdemeanour. To his temporal lordship no prince in the West could claim not to be subject in some way or other.

[2] Rob. de Monte, an. 1174; Hoveden, an. 1173, ii. p. 53, R. S.

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that the invading king of the Scots had been taken prisoner at Alnwick, at the very time he was hearing Mass at the saint's tomb. Within three weeks of his penance all England was at peace.

Peace with France and the rebels, Sept. 1174.

Meanwhile, Alexander did not despair of reconciling the rebellious princes with their father, and commissioned another legate, Peter, of the title of St. Chrysogonus, to proceed to France.[1] This time the exertions of the papal envoy were crowned with success, and for the time there was peace throughout Henry's vast dominions (September 29, 1174).[2]

Cardinal Hugo Pierleone arrives in England, Oct. 1175.

Hoping, no doubt, that Henry would be grateful for his assistance in this important matter, Alexander hearkened to the king's request, and sent him as apostolic legate his relative Hugo Pierleone, the cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo.[3]

[1] Boso, *in vit. Alex.*, p. 427. *Cf.* ep. Alex., 1135, April 17, 1174, and ep. 1136. *Cf.* on the career of this cardinal, H. Delehaye, *Pierre de Pavie*, ap. *Revue des Quest. Hist.*, January 1891, p. 5 ff. The highest character is given to this legate by his contemporaries. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, ep. 11 of Henry of Clairvaux, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 223. One of the letters of Peter is exceedingly interesting as showing how anxious Alexander was to strengthen the Roman Church with the virtue and talent of Europe. The legate tells the Pope that, in accordance with his instructions, he is sending him the names of certain men whom he considers suitable "for promotion in the Roman Church." Among those named by him, *e.g.*, Master Peter Manducator (or Comestor, the Eater), Gerard la Pucelle, etc., certainly one, Abbot Bernred, afterwards rose to be cardinal-bishop of Preneste. With Peter's letter (ap. *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 1370 f.) *cf.* one of Peter de la Celle, ii. 96 (al. ix. 6), ap. *P. L.*, t. 202.

[2] Our historians do not appear to mention the intervention of Cardinal Peter in this truce, though they note, as we shall see, his action in promoting the more important treaty of Yvry in September 1177. *Cf.* Hoveden, ad an., ii. p. 143.

[3] *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), an. 1175, i. pp. 104-5, R. S.: "Pro quo (Hugozun) d. rex Romam miserat." Hugo is often called by the diminutives Hugozun or Uguccio. Gervase states that Henry sent for the legate in the hope of being able to bribe him to authorise his divorcing his wife. Money was given freely, but we hear nothing of the divorce, though Gervase pretends that it was the money which

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Henry appears to have been particularly anxious to have the question of the criminous clerks settled in a manner that would be acceptable to the Pope and to himself, and to bring about some understanding between Canterbury and York, who were quarrelling as usual. Accordingly, he gave a royal welcome to Hugo, who came with full powers from Rome, and in sign thereof with the white horse and all the other insignia that belonged to the Pope alone (October 1175).[1]

The synod of London, 1176.

After summoning the bishops of England to meet him in synod in the spring of the following year, the legate spent the interval in making an official visitation of the cathedrals and greater abbeys of the country.[2] In obedience to the cardinal's summons, there met together in the chapel of St. Catherine at Westminster the bishops of England. But the rivalry of York and Canterbury prevented the synod from getting further than its inauguration.[3] The question at once arose as to whether Richard or Roger was to sit at the right hand of the legate. Neither of the prelates would give way, and both of them appealed to the Pope. But, as the partisans of Canterbury were in the majority, Roger was very severely handled, and his vestments torn. The cardinal was justly indignant at this unseemly spectacle, told the people that he could not

induced the legate to consent to allow clerics to be brought before the secular courts for breach of the forest laws. *Chron.*, an. 1175, i. 256-7, R. S.

[1] Diceto, *Ymag.*, 1175, i. p. 403.

[2] *Gesta H.*, *ib.*, p. 106. "Cardinalis . . . iter suum fecit per metropolitanas ecclesias et per abbatias Angliæ, ad visitandum eas tanquam legatus apostolicæ sedis." Hoveden chronicles his appearance at York at Christmas 1175. Gervase, *l.c.*, professes to know that in his tour Hugo took money "right and left."

[3] At a national synod held by Richard in May 1175, the dispute between the two archbishops had resulted in an appeal to Rome by Roger of York. *Cf. Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 89 f. The king imagined he had made a truce between them, *ib.*, p. 104.

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publish the laws that were to have been drawn up for the good of the Church, and, asking for permission to return, took off the insignia of his office. The entreaties of the king and the bishops, however, prevailed upon him to resume them.[1]

Modifications of the Constitutions of Clarendon accepted by Henry, 1176.

The mission of Hugo, however, was not a failure, because something at least of what should have been decided at Westminster was settled privately between the king and the legate. Writing to the Pope, Henry stated that, influenced by his devotion to the Roman Church and by the words of his friend and relative the apostolic legate Hugo, he had made a number of concessions. In future, clerics were not to be brought before lay tribunals except for breaches of the forest laws, or except for cases concerning lay fiefs where service was due to a lay lord. He also agreed not to keep bishoprics and abbacies vacant for more than a year; not to compel clerics to trial by combat; and not only to inflict the ordinary punishment on such as had been convicted of the murder of a cleric before the king's justitiary in presence of an official of the bishop, but also to deprive them of their inheritance for ever.[2] Some of the clergy at the time condemned the first article, ostensibly no doubt on principle, but it would seem really because many of them were fond of hunting.[3] Now, as the canons forbade the clergy to hunt, it was only reasonable for the legate to allow their being punished for breaking them. Similarly, as the archbishop himself,

[1] We follow here R. de Diceto, because as dean of St. Paul's he was in the best position to know the truth. *Ymag.*, 1176, i. pp. 405-6. His narrative is confirmed in the main by Will. of New., iii. 1, and by Hoveden and *Benedict.* The garrulous Gervase (an. 1176, *ib.*, 258) would have us believe that in his efforts to get between Richard and the legate, Roger sat on Canterbury's lap.

[2] See the letter ap. Diceto, *ib.*, p. 410.

[3] Hence the violent abuse of the legate by the so-called *Benedict.* Among other opprobrious epithets he applies that of "a hired limb of the devil" to him. *Gesta*, i. 105.

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finding that canonical penances were not enough to restrain would-be murderers of clerics,[1] wished for their punishment by the civil tribunals, the legate deserves praise rather than blame for obtaining the gratification of his desires.

Other legates concerned about English affairs, 1176.

As well after as before the abortive council of Westminster, Hugo officially *visited* the various churches, and left England on July 3, 1176.[2] It might almost be thought that at this time Alexander was solely occupied with the affairs of England. Whilst Hugo was still in England, he had commissioned Cardinal Peter of St. Chrysogonus to lay this country under an interdict if Henry refused either to return Adelais (or Alice) to her father Louis of France, or, as agreed, to give his son Richard to her in marriage.[3] Although the mission of the cardinal had no result, as far as Adelais was concerned, except a futile promise on Henry's part that the marriage should take place, it ended, as we have seen, in the Peace of Yvry (September 1177), by which the kings of France and England bound themselves to take the cross and to be friends.[4]

[1] In a letter to several bishops, Richard, "archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See," points out that the trial by clerics of all cases which involve a cleric is harming the English Church more and more. "Si Judæus aut laicorum vilissimus occiditur, statim supplicio mortis addicitur interfector; si quis vero sacerdotem . . . occiderit, ecclesia sola excommunicatione contenta, aut (ut verius loquar) contempta, materialis opem gladii non requiret. . . . Porro clerici . . . occisores Romam mittuntur, euntesque in deliciis cum plenitudine apostolicæ gratiæ et majore delinquendi audacia revertuntur." Ap. *Materials*, vii. 561 f. We may note here that Richard did not always get what he wanted; for Alexander rather favoured York in his appeal against Canterbury. He decided (ep. 1194, an. 1175 or 6) that Roger might have his cross carried before him throughout all England, and that (ep. 1261) no submission was due by York to Canterbury.

[2] *Gesta*, i. 117, and Diceto, i. 410.

[3] Ep. 1242, May 21, 1176; *cf.* ep. 1279, April 30, 1177.

[4] *Gesta*, i. 180 f. and 190 ff.; Hoveden, ii. 143 ff.

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In the midst of these negotiations, and soon after Cardinal Hugo had left England, another legate landed on our shore (*c.* July 22, 1176). This was Vivian, cardinal of S. Stefano Rotondo, who came with a legatine commission for Ireland, Scotland, and the neighbouring islands.[1] As King Henry had not asked for him, he received a very different reception to that accorded to Hugo, and, before being allowed to proceed, had to swear that in the performance of his office he would do nothing against the king or his kingdom.

Cardinal Vivian in Ireland, 1177.

Proceeding to Scotland,[2] he embarked at Whithern for the Isle of Man (December 1176). Thence, after causing its King Godred to enter the legitimate bonds of matrimony,[3] he proceeded to Ireland (*c.* January 6), where, as usual at this period, he found war going on. John de Courci was engaged in invading Ulster, and although Vivian or his suit suffered considerable annoyance at the hands of some of John's troops,[4] the legate used all his eloquence to try to effect a treaty between King Roderick (Rory MacDonlevy) and John, on condition that the Irish should pay a yearly tribute.[5] But he spoke in vain, and, though he bade the Irish fight for their country, and gave them his blessing, the mail-clad knights and the English archers were too strong for them.[6] De Courci took Down, and defeated Roderick, capturing the bishop of his capital (Down). Unable to effect anything more than the release of the bishop,[7] Vivian proceeded to Dublin, and held a synod of the bishops and clergy of Ireland (March 13).

[1] *Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 118.

[2] The chronicle of Melrose (an. 1176) says that Vivian spent his time in Scotland in getting money by oppressive means.

[3] *Chron. Mann.*, an. 1176, p. 13 f., ed. Munch, Christiania, 1860.

[4] *Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 137 ; Hoveden, *l.c.*, p. 120.

[5] *Giraldus Camb.*, *Expug. Hib.*, ii. c. 17 ; v. p. 340, R. S.

[6] Will. of New., iii. 9.

[7] *Gesta* and Hoveden, *ll.cc.*

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Synod of Dublin, 1177.

According to Giraldus,[1] Vivian there "made a public declaration of the right of the king of England to Ireland and the confirmation of the Pope,[2] and strictly commanded and enjoined both the clergy and the people, under pain of excommunication, on no rash pretence to presume to withdraw their allegiance." Even if the legate did make this declaration, he would appear to have expressed his disapproval of such wanton raids as that of de Courci; for we are told that Henry's officers bade him either leave the country or act along with them.[3]

Vivian holds a synod at Edinburgh, 1177.

Vivian accordingly returned to England, and, under Henry's protection, set out for Scotland, because the chief object of his coming to these shores had been to regulate the relations of the Scottish Church to the English Church. Henry had taken advantage of the capture of the Scotch king, William the Lion, to force from him an acknowledgment of his suzerainty, and of the ancient rights of the English over the Scotch Church (December 1174). At a council held at Northampton (January 1176), to which King William and the bishops of Scotland were summoned, the latter were formally called upon to render that obedience to the Church of England to which they were traditionally bound. The Scottish prelates promptly rejoined that they owed no such obedience; and when

[1] *Ib.*, c. 19.

[2] The bulls of Hadrian IV. and Alexander III., regarding Ireland, have already been treated of. *Cf. supra*, ix. p. 336 ff.

[3] Will. of New., *l.c.* So much we may safely take from William; but when he adds that Vivian attempted "to play the Roman (agere morem Romanum) among churches of barbaric simplicity," and left the country with less Irish gold than he had hoped for, we may suspect the Yorkshireman, angry with the cardinal for not definitely submitting the Church of Scotland to York, or the Englishman, indignant that he had encouraged the Irish. Though I have no doubt that greed was a vice to which many of the papal legates were inclined, it must always be borne in mind that the losing side in a lawsuit only too frequently consoles itself by accusing the judge of having taken a bribe.

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Roger of York attempted to prove that both custom and pontifical bulls showed that the bishops of Whithern (Candida Cassa, or Galloway) and Glasgow were subject to his jurisdiction, Jocelin, bishop of the latter see, replied: "The Church of Glasgow is the special daughter of the Roman Church, and is exempt from the jurisdiction of any bishop; and if in the past the Church of York had some authority over that of Glasgow, it is certain that it has none now."[1] Whatever case Roger might have had was ruined by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who wished that the Scottish Church should be subject to him. He therefore persuaded Henry to allow the Scottish bishops to depart without offering any subjection to the Church of England.[2]

No sooner had they returned home, than they sent envoys secretly to Alexander and begged him to take them under his protection, and secure them from any dependence on the English Church.[3] The embassy of Vivian was the Pope's reply to this petition. However, before the cardinal legate was despatched by Alexander, the latter received a letter, brought by agents of Roger of York, purporting to have come from the king of Scotland. In this letter

[1] Hoveden, an. 1176, ii. p. 92. Despite the protestations of York, Alexander had himself consecrated Jocelin's predecessor, Engelram. Jaffé, sub 11,076 and 11,078.

[2] With Hoveden, *cf. Gesta Hen.*, i. pp. 111–12.

[3] *Gesta*, *l.c.* "*Clam* miserunt legatos . . . ad Alexandrum summum pontificem, postulantes ut eos reciperet in manu sua, et tutaret a subjectione illa quam Anglicana ecclesia ab eis exigebat." *Cf. ib.*, p. 117. Fordun in his *Scotichronicon* (written *c.* 1385) puts into the mouth of a Scotch cleric called Gilbert a very fiery speech in behalf of the ecclesiastical independence of his country. So fiery was it that the English declared he must "have had pepper in his nose." At the close of his harangue he *publicly* appealed to Rome: "D. Apostolicum, cui immediate subjecta est, provoco," viii. 25, 26. But the authority of Fordun cannot compare with the contemporary authorities cited above.

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William acknowledged the subjection of the Scottish Church, and asked the Pope to confirm the jurisdiction of York over it. But such a document is inconsistent with what we have seen both Hoveden and *Benedict* relate about the final issue of the council of Northampton, and its authenticity was suspected by Alexander. In a letter which he addressed to Roger of York (March 13, 1176),[1] he said that he could not altogether comply with the king's demands, as the seal of his letter was broken; and then added, very diplomatically, that he is sending Roger a copy of the king's letter in order that he may keep it as evidence. As the manuscript evidence for the genuineness of this letter of William is allowed to be good, it is quite possible that the king may have been forced to write it after the council at Northampton. At any rate, a few months later, after Vivian had left him for the North, Alexander, evidently aware of the state of the case, notified the Scotch bishops that he had meanwhile forbidden Roger to exercise any jurisdiction over them, July 30, 1176.[2]

Vivian held his council at Edinburgh on August 1, 1177. It is not known whether he touched on the question of the independence of the Scotch Church. Perhaps his oath to Henry may have prevented him from coming to any decision on the subject. But it is quite possible that, when *Benedict* says that on the close of the council the Pope recalled Vivian owing to his rapacity,[3] he is simply calumniating the cardinal because he proclaimed the dependence

[1] Ep. 1241, or ap. Haddan and Stubbs (with the rest of the documents regarding this affair), *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 244 ff. It is important to note that the paragraph about the broken seal is not found in the *P. L.* ed. The letter of William to Pope Alexander may be read in the Register of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, p. 263, ed. Surtees, London, 1904, or ap. *Historians of the Ch. of York*, iii. 84, R. S.

[2] Haddan and S., *ib.*, p. 245. [3] *Gesta Hen.*, i. 167.

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of the Scotch Church on the Pope alone.[1] All we really know about this council is that Vivian repealed some decrees and published some new ones.[2] It was afterwards pretended that among the latter some were aimed at certain privileges of the Cistercians. But, when Alexander re-affirmed their immunities, he declared that he did not believe that Vivian would have presumed to make such decrees, thereby contravening well-known papal pronouncements.[3]

With a repetition of the statement already made, viz., that the dependence of the Scotch Church on Rome alone was decided by Clement III., we must terminate our account of Alexander's relations with these islands; for, if we were to attempt to treat of all of them, the end would be too long a-coming,[4] and sufficient has been said to illustrate them.[5]

THE EAST.

Alexander and the Greeks.

For the sake of furnishing a fuller idea of the magnitude of the task on which Alexander was engaged, we will give an outline at least of other important affairs to which he had to give his attention. The history of his relations with the Western Roman Empire has already shown him in contact with the Eastern Roman Empire. While he was wisely guiding the destinies of the Roman Church, the childish vanity and rashness, the shameless licentiousness

[1] Certain it is that, when Alexander does refer to Vivian's mission to Scotland, he makes no allusion to any such charge against him.

[2] Fordun, *l.c.* [3] Ep. of Alex., ap. Haddan, *ib.*, p. 248.

[4] Alexander must have been popular in Scotland; for Harold, Earl of Orkney, granted Peter's Pence ("denarium unum de qualibet domo") to the Roman Church in his pontificate from the county of Caithness. Ep. of Innocent III., ap. Haddan and S., *ib.*, p. 250.

[5] We must pass over, *e.g.*, epp. 1344 and 5, where he decides that the abbots of the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, are to be installed without having to make profession of obedience to the archbishop, and Jaffé, 13,106, 13,291–4, 13,312, etc.

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and the empty-headed extravagance of Manuel I., Comnenus, was finally, despite his great personal strength and courage, ruining the empire of Byzantium. His defeat by the Sultan of Iconium and his Seljoukian Turks at Myriokephalon in Phrygia was fatal (1176), and when he died in 1180 "the power and the glory of the Byzantine empire perished."[1] To him, with his inflated ideas of his own power and importance, the pretensions of Frederick Barbarossa to universal dominion were intolerable, and, as we have seen, he supported the Italian cities against him, giving them of the money of which he had none to spare. To humble Frederick he recognised Alexander as true Pope, and endeavoured to unite the Pope with him against his rival.[2] Throughout almost the whole of Alexander's pontificate ambassadors were constantly passing between the Byzantine and papal courts.[3] Indignant, or at least feigning to be so, at Frederick's interference in papal elections, Manuel had acknowledged Alexander as the true Pope, and Greek vanity pretended that he had restored him to the throne whence Frederick had driven him.[4] To gain the goodwill of the Romans, the Basileus gave his niece in marriage to Odo Frangipane; and he had the satisfaction of seeing his image, like those of his predecessors in days long gone by, honourably received in Rome.[5]

[1] Finlay, *The Byzantine and Greek Empires*, p. 242. *Cf.* Hoveden, an. 1177, for Manuel's letter giving Henry II. an account of this disaster.

[2] *Cf.* epp. Alex., 184 and 197.

[3] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II. et Manuel I.*, p. 555 ff.

[4] *Cf.* John Cinnamus, Manuel's secretary († 1186), *Hist.*, v. 9, a most interesting chapter. He professes to believe that it was the Byzantine Basileus who had the sole right of designating the Supreme Pontiff: "οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχιερέα προβεβλῆσθαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφεῖται."

[5] *Ib.*, iv. 14. The βασίλειον σημεῖον may mean an imperial standard, and not an image.

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To win over the Pope he sent him a great sum of money, and an offer to avenge him on Frederick, and to unite the two churches under him as they used to be, if only he would acknowledge him as sole emperor (1168). But Alexander was cautious. Though Frederick had treated him shamefully, he had no mind to break the convention by which Eugenius III. and Frederick had agreed not to let the Greek into Italy (1153). He accordingly returned the money to the ambassadors, and, whilst urging that the emperor's propositions necessitated great care and prudence, sent two cardinals to Constantinople.[1] He also encouraged Hugh Etherianus, the Tuscan, who at Manuel's request had written a work to show that, according to the Greek Fathers themselves, the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and from the Son; and he begged him to urge the Greek emperor to work for the unity of the churches.[2]

Massacre of a cardinal-legate and of the Latins at Constantinople, 1182.

Here we may anticipate the course of events a little to tell what came of the efforts of Manuel and Alexander to bring about the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. Throughout all his reign Manuel had favoured the Latins. He had been twice married, and had on both occasions chosen a Latin princess. He had also espoused his children to Latins, and employed Latins as far as ever he could.[3] In the eyes of his Greek subjects this was to pour oil on

[1] Boso, *P. L.*, ii. 419 f.; Cinnamus, vi. 4. The latter pretends that at first Alexander fell in with Manuel's wishes, but that the negotiations ultimately came to nothing because Alexander wanted to have the seat of the regenerated empire in Rome, and Manuel in Constantinople.

[2] Ep. 1325. Hugh had submitted his work to the censorship of the Pope; and the emperor had saved it from the Greeks, who wished to consign it "Silentibus et aquosis piscibus" (to the silent and watery fishes). *Cf.* his letters to the Pope and to the patriarch of Antioch, prefixed to his treatise, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, p. 227 ff.

[3] "Neglectis Græculis suis tamquam viris mollibus et effeminatis, ipse, tamquam vir . . . solis Latinis grandia committeret negotia." Will. of Tyre, *Hist.*, xxii. 10.

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the flames. They hated the Latins already on religious grounds.[1] In their arrogance, says William of Tyre, they call those "heretics who do not follow their frivolous traditions, whereas they themselves rather deserve the name for inventing or following new and pestilential opinions against the Roman Church and the faith of the apostles Peter and Paul, 'against which the gates of hell shall not prevail (St. Matt. xvi. 18).'"[2] The favour shown to the Latins by Manuel inflamed this hatred to a white heat, and the disorders that followed Manuel's death (1180) gave them an opportunity of gratifying their malevolent feelings. Alexius II., Manuel's son and successor, was but a boy on his father's death, and the usual troubles of a child's rule began at once. Under the pretence of delivering the youthful emperor from evil counsellors, the unprincipled Andronicus, cousin of Manuel, forced his way into the city. The greatest confusion followed, and the populace, taking advantage of it, turned against the Latins. According to a distinguished Greek contemporary, there was some justification for this, as the Latins were not merely in favour of the ruling dynasty, but had been induced to engage to take up arms in its behalf by a promise of being allowed to plunder and rule the city.[3] However this may be, certain it is that the sixty thousand Latins were not in arms when Andronicus burst into the city, and even Eustathius himself

[1] Michael III. of Anchialos, who became patriarch in 1169, †1177, wrote a dialogue in which, while he represents Manuel as an open partisan of union with Rome, he shows himself an opponent of it. This dialogue has been quite recently published by the Russian savant Loparev. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Jean II., Comnène*, pp. 566, 568 nn., Paris, 1912.

[2] *L.c.*

[3] So says Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica (from 1175 to *c.* 1192), and a scholar; ap. *Narratio de capta Thessalonica*, p. 394 ff., ed. Bonn, 1842. He states that the massacre was effected by the barbaric Paphlagonian troops of Andronicus.

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cannot find words to express the barbarous treatment meted out to the unfortunate Latins. Not only were their houses and many of their ships burnt, but their women and children were slaughtered before their eyes with the most revolting barbarity.[1] The most distinguished victim of the massacre was Cardinal John, "whom the Roman pontiff had despatched to Constantinople, at the petition of the Emperor Manuel, . . . to bring the Greek Church under the laws and authority of the Church of Rome." When urged to fly, he would do no more than put on his sacred vestments, saying, "Be flight far from me. I stand here for the unity of the Church by the command of the lord Pope Alexander."[2] Not content with murdering the intrepid cardinal, clad though he was in his priestly robes, the Greeks dragged his body, tied to a dog, through the streets of the city, and then half burnt it, and threw it into a hole. In their agony the Latins called on God to avenge them, and in the sack of Constantinople by the Latins (1204), and in the capture of his own city of Thessalonica, Eustathius saw the answer to those prayers.

The Crusades.

Alarmed at the terrible defeat of Manuel at Myriokephalon, and at the advance of the great Saladin, Alexander issued, a few months before his death, his last call to the Crusades,[3] and there is also extant one of the last letters written by Manuel. It was addressed "to the most holy

[1] With Eustathius compare also the Greek senator Nicetas Choniates, who continued the work of Cinnamus in writing the history of the Comneni; *Hist.*, p. 325 f., ed. Bonn, 1835, and William of Tyre, *l.c.*

[2] "Ego hic sto pro unitate ecclesie et precepto d. mei Alexandri pape." Robertus de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1182. *Cf.* Eustathius, p. 396. Some of the Latins who escaped by sea were captured by Saracen war vessels. *Cf.* Belin, *Hist. de la Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 36. He cites from his own collection an Arabic state paper of Saladin.

[3] Epp. 1504 and 5, January 16, 1181. *Cf.* previous letters, 360, 626 and 7, 1047, and 1233. The needs of the Holy Land were often in his mind when he was working to promote peace. *Cf.* epp. 1102, 1136.

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Pope" by Manuel "in Christ our Lord, faithful emperor, born in the purple, ruler, sublime, powerful Augustus, autocrator of the Romans, Comnenus." It is a request that the Pope will cause a legate to accompany the Crusaders in order to prevent them from working any harm to the Empire.[1]

Baptism of the Sultan of Iconium, 1169.

Matthew Paris has preserved for us[2] a most interesting notice of that Sultan of Iconium whose troops inflicted on the army of Manuel the dread defeat of Myriokephalon. Convinced of the truth of Christianity, and anxious to receive baptism, Kilij Arslan II. (1155–92) sent to Alexander for instruction in the Christian faith. In fulfilment of the wishes of the Sultan, the Pope sent to him not only a well-qualified teacher, but a short treatise of his own on the Catholic doctrine. Written to a Moslem, the treatise naturally develops at considerable length the dogmas of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation and human life of God the Son, and the position of Our Lady. Following the papal exhortations, the Sultan, we are assured by the same historian, received baptism, though secretly, for fear of his unbelieving subjects. But in this Matthew Paris is probably mistaken, for the Sultan of Iconium, though he promised help to the Christians, proved a traitor, "a deceitful man, thirsting for Christian blood," who

[1] Muralt, *Essai de Chron. Byzant.*, p. 211; and Pitra, *De epist. Rom. Pont.*, p. 486, n. 1. The letter from which we have taken the address (*ib.*, p. 485) is noted by Pitra as written to Alexander III. in 1176. But it is obviously written by Manuel to Eugenius III. in 1147, as it refers to the capture of Edessa and to the forthcoming expedition of Louis of France. In further connection with Alexander's exertions against the infidel, we may mention his confirmation of military religious orders in Spain (ep. 1183), and his exhortations to the Venetians not to make any implements of war for the Saracens, Jaffé, 14,351–2.

[2] *Chron. Maj.*, an. 1169, ii. p. 250, R. S., from Peter of Blois, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 1069 ff.

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"under a fraudulent pretext professed friendship towards us, and, concealing the malignant venom of his heart, sought thereby to destroy us when off our guard." So writes the contemporary eye-witness Geoffrey of Vinsauf, or whoever was the author of the *Itinerarium Ricardi I.*[1]

Prester John.

But the name of Alexander is connected with a much more famous Eastern potentate than the Sultan of Iconium. He corresponded with that Prester John whose royal and priestly dignity, and whose vast kingdom, variously assigned to northern Asia, to India, and to Africa, fired the imagination of the Middle Ages.

When the historian, Bishop Otto of Frising, visited Pope Eugenius III. at Viterbo (1145), he met the bishop of Gabala. From him he heard of "a certain John" or "Prester John" (Presbyter Johannes), who lived "beyond Persia and Armenia in the remotest East"; who, "at once king and priest, was along with his people a Christian, though a Nestorian," and who had only been prevented by unfordable rivers from marching to deliver Jerusalem from the domination of the Moslem.[2]

The missionary zeal of the Nestorians had at one time been very great, and the remarkable bilingular inscription of Si-Ngan-Fou (781)[3] is a standing proof of their having established Christianity in China in the eighth century.

[1] *Itin.*, i. 22. On the authorship of the *Itinerarium*, see Stubbs in the preface to his ed. (*Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Ric. I.*, vol. i., R. S.); Gaston Paris in Molinier, *Les sources de l'hist. de France*, no. 2331 f.; and Miss Kate Norgate in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July 1910, p. 523 ff. It is certain that it is allied with Ambroise's, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, but the nature of the connection is anything but clear. Miss Norgate suggests that they are the works of two friends who went to the Crusade, and that in writing their accounts of the war they used each other's works.

[2] *Chron.*, vii. 33.

[3] For a full account of this valuable monument, see Bury's *Gibbon*, v. p. 520 ff., or Parker, ap. *Dublin Review*, vol. cxxxi. (1902), p. 380.

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They had, indeed, made converts in China in the preceding century. In the same age they were followed by the Moslems, and all the way from the Asiatic borders of the Eastern Roman empire into China, a traveller in the early Middle Ages would have found throughout that immense tract of country communities of Christians, of Moslems, and of heathens. In northern Asia, in the neighbourhood of the great lake of Baikal, near the upper Orkhon, and between the rivers Kerulen and Selegna which flow into Baikal, our voyager would, in the early part of the eleventh century, have encountered the Karait Turks who, along with their khan or king, professed the Nestorian faith.[1]

If, then, it cannot be doubted that a Moslem Sultan of the Seljukian Turks consulted Alexander III. about the Catholic faith, it cannot be said to be improbable that a Nestorian khan of Karait Turks should have done the same (*c.* 1176).[2] For if the Crusades turned the attention

[1] Bar Hebræus (Abulfaradj), who was a Jacobite Christian (†1287), says that as early as 1007 "the king of the Keryt people" was baptized. *Cf.* H. H. Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, pt. i. p. 543, London, 1876. This distinguished author also quotes Raschid (governor of Persia in 1300, and the most valuable of western Asiatic authors on the history of the Mongols) to the following effect: "the Keraits had their own rulers, and professed the Christian faith." *Annals*, ed. Quatremere, p. 94 f.

[2] Certain it is that some seventy years after this Marco Polo found a Christian dynasty ruling in the Inshan region of the Hoang-ho (Yellow River) in China, as did also a generation later John de Monte Corvino. "For all that Messer Marco says of George, king of Tenduc, sixth in descent from Prester John, is strikingly confirmed by what the great missionary tells us of his convert George, of the family of Prester John, who ruled in a country twenty days' journey from Peking, and who brought over with him so many of his people from Nestorian schism to the unity of Rome." Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii. p. 88 f. We quote this not to show that the Nestorian rulers of the Hoang-ho were connected with those of the Siberian lake across the desert of Gobi (for in all probability there was no connection between them), but to point out that, if there was a Christian and even a Catholic Tartar prince at the end of the thirteenth century,

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of the West to the affairs of the East, they also caused the peoples of the East to be curious about those of the West. At any rate, as may be gathered from a letter of Alexander,[1] among those Westerns who now began to penetrate into the Far East, was the Pope's own physician, Philip. On his return he assured the Pope that he had conversed with the chief men of "John, the magnificent king of the Indians, and most holy of priests," and that they had assured him that it was their ruler's wish "to be instructed in the Catholic and Apostolic doctrines, and that it was his fervent desire that he and the realms entrusted to him should never hold any doctrine at variance with those of the Apostolic See." Alexander, accordingly, wrote to the aforesaid "illustrious John," and, impressing upon him that the Apostolic See was "the head and mistress of all those who believed in Christ," assured him that he had heard from common report of his good deeds since he became a Christian, and from his own physician of his desire for instruction in the Catholic faith, and for a place at Jerusalem in which good men from his kingdom might be fully taught the true faith. Despite, therefore, "the far distant and unknown countries" in which he lived, he had decided, he continued, to send him the said Philip, who might instruct him in those articles in which he was not in unison with the Christian and Catholic faith. In return, the Pope begged him to send him properly

and at the beginning of the fourteenth, there is no reason why, in the last quarter of the twelfth century, a Nestorian Turkish prince should not have made inquiries about the Catholic faith. *Cf.* the *Travels of Marco Polo*, c. 49 f. Prester John seems to have opened communications with the emperors Manuel and Frederick in 1165. *Cf.* Alberic of Trois Fontaines (he wrote after 1251), *Chron.*, an. 1165, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. The letters purporting to come from him are supposed by some to have been forged by the Nestorian missionaries, but their inflated style is perhaps rather a proof of their authenticity.

[1] Ap. Hoveden, an. 1178, or ep. 1322, September 27, 1177.

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authenticated persons and letters so that he might learn his wishes fully.

But to this letter, "given at Venice on the Rialto," no answer ever came. We know not whether Master Philip ever saw the face of the Karait Togroul. For he it was who was seemingly the original Prester John, and who, from the fact that he had received the title of *Ouang* or *Awang* (king) from the emperor of China, was known to the Moslem chroniclers as Ong Khan.[1] At any rate, the Popes had begun to correspond with rulers in the remote East, and at intervals all through the Middle Ages intercourse was renewed between them and the peoples of "Far Cathay," and hopes were entertained not only that they would become Catholics (if not so already), but that they would deliver the Holy Land from the Moslem.

Norway, Iceland, and Sweden.

If the voice of Alexander made itself heard in the distant East, it also resounded in Ultima Thule; and amidst the ice and snows of the North his words roused his lieutenants to struggle for the complete emancipation of the Church. Even in Iceland, as well as in Norway and Sweden, the authority of Alexander made itself felt. In his name Thorlac, bishop of Scalholt in Iceland, made an attempt —which, however, was only partially successful—to free the

[1] Lavisse and Rambaud, *Hist. Gen.*, ii. 923; Beazley, *ib.* No doubt the convert Turk took the name of John in his baptism, and passed it on to his descendants. He received the name of Prester (priest), because he was in fact a Nestorian priest. On the identification of Togroul as Prester John, *cf.* Otto, quoted above, and Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, p. 52, and p. 60 f., ed. Adler, London, 1907. The Rabbi Benjamin left Spain in 1165 and returned to it about 1171. Bar Hebræus too says: "Unk (or Wang) Khan, who is the Christian King Johannes, ruled over a tribe of the barbarian Huns called Keryt." It may be noted that the opinion of Baronius that Alexander's letter was addressed to a king of Ethiopia, and that the Church possessed in his own time by the Abyssinians at the back of the apse of St. Peter's might have been granted on this occasion, is not so well founded as that set forth in the text.

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lands of the Church from lay control (1179). He urged, to quote the interesting words of his biographer, "that the ordinance of the Apostles themselves gave him power over all that belonged to God without any distinction. The holy Fathers of the Church, and the Popes, the successors of the Apostles, have bidden and ordained the same throughout all Christendom in the canon law; and now the Pope (Alexander) has also bidden Archbishop Eystein to carry out the same rule in Norway, and it has been accepted there. Wherefore it is not lawful nor is it to be borne that this poor country should not stand under the same law as holdeth good there."[1]

Passing over Alexander's consecrating Eystein (1161), and giving him the pallium, and his sending the legate Stephen to Norway (1163),[2] we will note that in August 1164, at "the prayers of Charles (Swerkerson), the illustrious king of the Swedes and Goths, and of the bishops of his kingdom," he erected Upsala into a metropolitan see with four suffragans. Though Stephen, the first metropolitan, received the pallium, he was not exempted from submission to the southern archbishop of Lund, who was recognised by the Pope as the primate of Sweden.[3]

The Finns.

Among the extant letters of Alexander to the new metropolitan, there is one on the subject of the nation

[1] Thorlac's second *Life*, c. 1, ap. *Origines Islandicæ*, i. p. 570. This *Life*, known as *Oddaverja-thattr*, was written about the middle of the thirteenth century.

[2] Willson, *The Hist. of the Church and State in Norway*, pp. 147, 150. *Cf.* ep. 977.

[3] Epp. 260, 261. *Cf.* ep. 634 of November 1169. On other Swedish affairs *cf.* epp. 262, 973, 975, 979, and Jaffé, 13,546, where we find the Pope forbidding people to leave all their money to churches. *Cf.* Geijer, *The Hist. of the Swedes*, p. 44 f., Eng. trans., London. The annals of Sweden (ap. *SS. Rer. Suec.*, I. 62, ed. Fant) record the first arrival of the pallium into Sweden in connection with Stephen: "et tunc primum venit pallium in Sweciam tempore Karoli Regis Swecie." An. 1166.

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which adjoined the Swedes on the north, and occupied the country to the east of them on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, viz. the Finns. Under Eric IX. (1150–60), known in Sweden as St. Eric, in whose reign Christianity was first firmly established in Upper Sweden, the piracies of the heathen Finns forced the Swedes to take up arms against them. Vanquished by Eric, they were forced to receive baptism (*c.* 1157). But it has always been difficult to coerce the Finns, and they murdered their first apostle Henry, bishop of Upsala (1158). Oppressed, however, by enemies in their turn, the Finns adopted the cunning policy of promising faithfully to practise the Christian faith when they needed the help of the Swedes, and then of returning to heathenism and persecuting the teachers of Christianity as soon as the need of assistance had passed away. Archbishop Stephen reported this conduct of the Finns to the Pope, and asked his advice. Alexander thereupon pointed out to him and to Duke Guthermus that they should not suffer the Christian name to be thus mocked, and bade them in future only to afford the desired help if the Finns gave sufficient security of their intention of abiding by their promises.[1] But the Finns were very restless. Crusades had to be organised against them by the rulers of Sweden, and Christian colonies planted among them; and yet it was not till the very close of the thirteenth century that they were really Christians obedient to their bishop at Abo.[2]

Esthonia.

On the southern coasts of the Gulf of Finland was another branch of the Finns, known as the Esthonians. The latter were often in alliance with their brethren of Finland, and with them frequently perpetrated the greatest cruelties on their Christian neighbours. The letters of

[1] Ep. 976, September 9, 1171–2.

[2] Hergenroether, *Hist. de l'Église*, iv. 186–7; Geijer, *ib.*, p. 47 and p. 53.

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Alexander often mention them. Anxious to assist in their conversion, he wrote to the archbishop of Drontheim, in Norway, begging him to let a certain monk of the name of Nicholas, himself an Esthonian, go to help Bishop Fulk, who was desirous of becoming the apostle of Esthonia. For, says the Pope, "the laws of God and of man and the call of charity require us to work for the common good, and to employ all our anxious care for the conversion of the infidel . . . to the knowledge of the true light, and to the culture and teaching of the doctrine of the Christian faith."[1]

It was not, however, till the next century that the savage Esthonians were converted to the faith of Christ, and then, too, not without the aid of the sword. Meanwhile, Alexander had to strive to unite against them all the Christian countries of the North, offering an indulgence of a year to all such as confessed and repented of their sins, and fought against "the ferocity of the Esthonians."[2]

Other countries.

Did space permit, we could tell much of what the guiding and elevating hand of Alexander effected in Spain and Portugal,[3] in Hungary[4] and Dalmatia, and in the country of "Culin, the great Ban of Bosnia."[5]

[1] Ep. 979, September 9, 1171–2. *Cf.* ep. 983, where the Pope appeals for financial aid for Fulk, and Jaffé, 12,121.

[2] "Nos enim eis qui adversus sæpe dictos paganos . . . decertaverint, de peccatis suis de quibus confessi fuerint et pœnitentiam acceperint, remissionem unius anni . . . concedimus, sicut his qui sepulchrum Dominicum visitant." Ep. 980.

[3] Ep. 1424, May 23, 1179. Undertakes the protection of the young kingdom of Portugal.

[4] *E.g.* Jaffé, 10,682; and *L. P.*, ii. 444–5, where an important privilege of King Béla III. (1169) is given, by which, imitating the devotion of his father Geysa II. "to the Church of Rome and to the supreme pontiff Alexander," he granted freedom to the Church of Hungary, decreeing, *e.g.*, that bishops were not to be deposed or translated without the consent of the Pope, that on their decease their property shall not be seized, etc.

[5] *Acta Bosnie*, p. 3 f., ed. Fermendžin, Agram, 1892.

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Space must, however, be found to show that the hand that could strike and threaten emperors and kings could protect the weak and the poor. Among the weak we may reckon the Jews, concerning whose relations with Alexander, a Jewish contemporary, the famous traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, has left us some interesting information. "Rome," he wrote, "is the head of the kingdoms of Christendom, and contains about two hundred Jews, who occupy an honourable position and pay no tribute, and amongst them are officials of the Pope Alexander, the spiritual head of all Christendom.[1] Great scholars reside here, at the head of them being Rabbi Daniel, the chief rabbi, and R. Jechiel, an official of the Pope. He is a handsome young man of intelligence and wisdom, and he has the entry of the Pope's palace; for he is the steward of his house and of all that he has."[2]

Alexander protects (*a*) the Jews and heretics;

Besides thus showing by example how the Jews ought to be treated, Alexander's public decrees in their behalf proved him a much more enlightened ruler than the mass of his contemporaries. The Jews were not to be compelled to receive baptism, were not to be robbed, wounded, or slain, or deprived of any of the privileges they had been wont to enjoy in any country.[3] He was opposed, however, to Christians being regular ser-

[1] Elsewhere, speaking of the Caliph, he says, "he occupies a similar position to that held by the Pope over the Christians." *The Itinerary*, p. 35. About a hundred years later the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo made a similar remark. Speaking of Bagdad, he observes: "At this place dwelt the Caliph, chief prelate of all the Saracens in the world, as the Pope is at Rome." *Travels*, pt. ii., c. 6, ed. Murray, London, 1844. *Vice-versa*, Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Hist.*, l. xxxi. c. 54, says: "Caliphus Papa interpretatur. . . . Itaque Baldach (Bagdad) est caput paganorum, sicut Roma caput nostrum."

[2] *The Itinerary*, p. 5, ed. Adler.

[3] Jaffé, 13,973 (9038), who notes that these decrees have also been ascribed to Clement III.

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vants of Jews, or paying homage to them, or to Jews having Christian slaves, or being allowed to retain any pecuniary hold over parish churches,[1] or to build new synagogues.[2]

The confidence which the Jews had in Pope Alexander was shared by heretics. Some of the latter had fled to him from the kingdom of Louis of France, and, professing their unwillingness to return, wished "to receive just judgment from the Pope."[3]

(*b*) the poor.

As usual with the successors of St. Peter, Alexander was a friend of the poor, and endeavoured to further their interests both directly and indirectly. He praises Casimir, duke of Poland, for abolishing such customs as enabled the nobles to seize the grain or the horses of the poor agricultural labourers;[4] he condemned usury,[5] and commended the archbishop of Narbonne and several bishops of the south of France for their zeal in lessening oppressive tolls;[6] he opposed slavery on the ground that God is the common Father of all, and that we are all free by nature;[7] and finally, as a glorious proof that nothing that was for man's advantage was beneath his notice, he confirmed regulations for the improvement of the cultivation of the vine.[8] In addition to his other labours, Alexander, as will perhaps have been already observed, embraced those of a peace-maker. And he sought to make peace not merely for its own sake, but also in the interests of war; for he

[1] Jaffé, 13,974 ff. They were also to pay tithes, and, in Marseilles at least, to keep their doors and windows shut on Good Friday.

[2] *Ib.*, 14,345. They might keep their old ones in repair.

[3] Ep. 122, January 11, 1163.

[4] Ep. 1512.

[5] "Immoderatum fenus," ep. 128; Jaffé, 14,042 (9104); 13,974 (9039).

[6] Ep. 294.

[7] Jaffé, 12,366 (8313).

[8] *Ib.*, 13,455. This he did at the request of the canons of Noyon.

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laboured to put an end to hostilities between Christian princes in order that they might be free to take up arms against the Turk.[1]

The position of the Pope in Europe at this period.

Could anything more be wanting to justify the following reflections of an able modern historian on the position of the Popes in Europe at this time—reflections evoked by consideration of some phases of the career of this very Alexander whose truly universal interests we have been considering? "It was not only 'the care of all the churches,'" writes Miss Kate Norgate,[2] "that rested upon a medieval Pope, but the care of all the states as well. The court of Rome had grown into the final court of appeal for all Christendom; the Pope was expected to be the universal referee, arbitrator, and peacemaker of Europe, to hold the balance between contending parties, to penetrate and disentangle the intricacies of political situations which baffled the skill of the most experienced diplomatists,[3] to exercise a sort of equitable jurisdiction on a vast scale over the whole range of political as well as social life."[4]

[1] Ep. 306 to Louis of France to put down a private war for the sake of the good order of his kingdom. *Cf.* ep. 1102, July 21, an. 1173–4, to Henry, archbishop of Rheims, and others to strive to extinguish the enmity between France and England, "so harmful to Christendom, and especially to the Christian cause in the East." See also epp. 1136, and 965, urging Louis of France to have his son crowned to ensure a peaceful succession to the kingdom.

[2] *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii. 50.

[3] And at the same time to be troubled with men who forged his signature or falsified his words. *Cf.* Jaffé, 12,253 (8227).

[4] "Earlier and later pontiffs," she continues, "may have voluntarily brought this burthen upon themselves. . . . Unprincipled as their policy often seemed, there was not a little justice in the view of John of Salisbury, that a position so exceptional could not be brought within the scope of ordinary rules of conduct, and that only those who had themselves felt all its difficulties could be really competent to judge it at all."

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Here must we tear ourselves away from the learned[1] and "the holy and just"[2] Rolando Bandinelli, whom Gregorovius[3] hails as "one of the greatest of all Popes," in whom he recognises a man "endowed with true dignity," and whom he regards as "the most fortunate of Popes." So great were the merits of Alexander that they commended themselves even to Voltaire. According to him, mankind owed more to Alexander than to any other man in the Middle Ages, and he maintained that, if men had not lost their rights, it was principally owing to the exertions of Alexander III.[4]

[1] Robert de Monte, *Chron.*, an. 1182, speaking of Alexander, says that "few of his predecessors for the last century had equalled him in learning; for he was a master in the sacred writings; . . . he solved many very difficult and weighty questions in the decrees and laws."

[2] John of Salisbury, ep. 183, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199, p. 186. "D. Papa vir sanctus et justus est."

[3] *Rome*, iv., pt. ii. pp. 607-8. If Alexander, who spent more than half his reign in exile, and during most of his pontificate had to contend with antipopes, was the most fortunate of the Popes, it is not hard to estimate how much of this world's happiness has fallen to the lot of the Vicars of Christ.

[4] *Résumé d'hist. gen.*, ap. *Œuvres*, x. 998, cited by Laforge, p. 7. *Cf.* Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 154. Hence a Cistercian monk, writing in the days of Frederick II., says that besides being "the honour of the clergy and the staff of the weak," he was also "the curb of the powerful—*frenum potestatum.*" *Chron.*, an. 1182, p. 31, ed. Gaudenzi.

Leaden Bulla of Alexander III.

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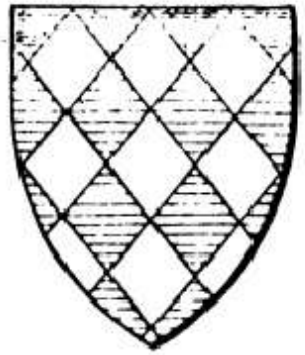

Lozengy, argent and azure.

LUCIUS III.

A.D. 1181–1185.

Sources.—As the *Liber Pontificalis* now fails us altogether, we have to depend upon non-local annalists, with one unsatisfactory exception. There is extant a fragment of the *Annales Romani* (ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 349 f.) treating of events between the years 1182 and 1187, and of this a small incomplete section touches on the pontificate of Lucius. In addition to the principal chroniclers of the age, of whom mention has already been made, we must add the historical verses of Peter of Ebulo (da Eboli),[1] a small town in the district of Salerno. Not much more is known about Peter except that he was a cleric, that he wrote his poem *ad honorem Augusti* (Henry VI.) about 1195, and died seemingly between 1212 and 1220. His work, in three books of unequal length, is not without merit as a poem, if it is of no great value as a history. It is a panegyric of Henry VI., and where it can be checked by other records it has not been found to be always reliable. Peter appears to have lived at Henry's court. The poem has been recently twice well edited, by Siragusa as *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, Rome, 1906, and by Rota for the new ed. of the *R. I. SS.*, t. xxxi. pt. i., Città di Castello, 1904–9, as *De rebus Siculis Carmen.*[2] Whilst Peter, the partisan of Henry, does not

[1] On Eboli read Lenormant, *À travers l'Apulie*, ii. 151 ff.

[2] The sole MS. of Peter of E. is preserved in the library of Berne, is supposed to be the original MS., and is remarkable for its miniatures

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rise above the level of a "tasteless encomiast," Hugo Falcandus, who stands for Tancred and the feudal barons of Sicily, is a powerful writer to whom the title of the Tacitus of the Middle Ages has been given by local patriotism. It is only his letter to Peter of Palermo, written in 1190, that has any relation to the period we have now reached. It was published by Muratori (*R. I. SS.*, vii.) in front of the *Historia* of Hugo, and more recently in superior style by Siragusa, *La "Historia" e la "Epistola ad Petrum,"* by Ugo Falcando, Rome, 1897. Like Peter of Eboli, he was far from being always careful of the truth. Of the extant letters of Lucius III., the abbé Migne has collected two hundred and fifty-two, ap. *P. L.*, t. 200.

Works.—Étude sur l'état politique de l'Italie depuis la paix de Constance jusqu'au milieu du xive siècle (1183–1355), by Huillard-Bréholles, a most valuable production, ap. *Mém. de l'institut national de France* (Académie des inscript.), t. 27, pt. ii., Paris, 1873. *La tomba di Lucio III. in Verona*, by Mons. O. Iozzi, Roma, 1907, who also publishes the panegyric preached over the body of Lucius by Cardinal Pandulf Mosca in 1185 (p. 10 ff.), whence we learn some new facts regarding the Pope.

To the list of contemporary sovereigns under Alexander III., add:—

Eastern Emperors.	Kings of Jerusalem.
Alexius II. (Comnenus), 1180–3.	Baldwin IV. (the Leper), 1173–85.
Andronicus I. (Comnenus), 1183–5.	Baldwin V. (the Child), 1185–86.
Isaac II. (Angelus), 1185–95.	

Lucius before he became Pope.

LUCIUS III., the first of five Popes whose average reign was only a little over four years, was a native of Lucca, the son of a distinguished citizen Bonagiunta, and originally bore the name of Ubaldus (or Humbald) Allucingolus.[1]

which both illustrate and complete the text. By Siragusa they were published in a volume apart, but by Rota they have been published with the text.

[1] The *Panegyric*, p. 11: "*Lucius* . . . vera *lux* Ecclesiæ Lucæ ortus." *Cf.* Ptolemy of Lucca (†1327), *Ann.*, 1181, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xi. 1272.

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He is said to have been born in 1097;[1] and the assertion may well be true, for we know that he was very old when he was elected Pope.[2] After receiving his general education in the city of his birth, he was trained in canon law, "in the most learned city of Pisa."[3] Called thence to Rome, he was made cardinal-priest of Santa Prassede by Innocent II. (1141), and by Eugenius III. (1159) cardinal-bishop of the sees of Ostia and Velletri, which had been united by that pontiff[4] (1150). The talents of Ubaldus induced various Popes to send him to Constantinople, Palermo, and other places on important legations,[5] and he was named at the peace congress of Venice one of the commissioners to arbitrate on the donation of the Countess Matilda.

Two days after the death of Alexander he was unanimously elected Pope (September 1), and, in allusion to his native town, took the name of Lucius III. He was crowned on the following Sunday (September 6) at his episcopal city of Velletri.[6] The ceremony of his enthronisation was performed by Theodwine of Porto and the archpriest of Ostia, "according to custom"[7]—the custom being that,

Elected Pope, Sept. 1, 1181.

[1] In the document which was placed in his tomb when it was opened in 1879, ap. Iozzi, p. 13.

[2] "Alexandro ætate senior," Sigebert. *Chron. Cont. Acquicinct.*, an. 1181; and the chronicle has just called Alexander "senex et plenus dierum." The *Paneg.*, p. 12, says that L. died "gravis annis"; Lucius III. "grandævus," Rob. Altissiod., *Chron.*, 1181, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvii. p. 250.

[3] *Paneg.*, p. 11.

[4] Rob. de Monte, an. 1180.

[5] As Pope we find him confirming a decision he had given when apostolic legate in northern Italy, "dum in illis partibus fungeremur legationis officio." Ep. 74.

[6] *Paneg.*, p. 11: "Nomen Lucii sumpsit." On the unanimity of his election, *cf. Chron. Ceccan.* (*Fossæ novæ*), an. 1181, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.: "Communicato omnium cardinalium consilio Ubaldus . . . in Papam ab omnibus . . . ordinatur."

[7] "Et ab universo populo et clero laudatur Lucius III. . . . vocatus." Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chron.*, 1181, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. Geoffrey

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when the bishop of Ostia was not available for this purpose, he should be represented by his archpriest.

Privileges for Lucca.

According to Ptolemy, Lucca's chief historian (†1327), the records of that city furnished him with such facts regarding Lucius III. as sufficed to show that when he became Pope he did not forget the land of his birth. He granted privileges to its churches[1] and to its coinage. From the seventh century under the Lombards, Lucca had enjoyed the privilege of coining money. With the concurrence of the Emperor Frederick and his son Henry, Lucius decreed that the products of the Lucchese mint should be the coins of recognised currency in Tuscany, Campania, the March of Ancona (Marchia), and in Rome and its district. Frederick had already made a similar decree with regard to the money of Pavia and Lombardy. Pilgrims to Rome also (Romipetæ) were to use the money of Lucca.[2]

finished in 1184 the valuable chronicle of the south of France, which he brought up to 1183. Because the bishop of Ostia was the consecrator of the Pope, Robert de Monte (an. 1182) notes that he had the privilege of the pallium, but only for the one purpose of consecrating the Pope. This is, I believe, the meaning of "Et habet (Ostia) pallium solummodo ad ea que pertinent in ordinatione et consecratione R. Pontificis." Stevenson translates: "And he alone has the pall from among the articles which appertain to the ordination and consecration of the Roman pontiff."

[1] *Annales*, an. 1185, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xi. p. 1274; and the Pope's panegyrist (p. 11) mentions "Lucam ejus patriam quam privilegiis et donariis ditavit." Ptolemy speaks of Lucius "per Lucam transiens" in 1185. But from the Pope's itinerary it does not appear possible that he could have visited Lucca after he became Pope. *Cf.* Jaffé, 14,515 (9419), 14,527 (9426), and Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, iii. 405, for the privileges granted by Lucius to his native city.

[2] Ptolemy, *Hist. eccles.*, c. 32, *ib.*, p. 1111. In his Annals (an. 1181) Ptolemy adds Apulia to the districts in which the money of Lucca was to circulate; and tells us that in his decretal Extra *de Censib. et procu.* Innocent III. treats of these two kinds of money as practically the only two kinds current in Italy. And, indeed, among the Decretals of Gregory IX., *De Censibus*, etc. (lib. iii. tit. 39, ed. Friedberg, *Corpus*

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The Pope in Rome, Nov. 1181 to March 1182.

A month or two after his consecration Lucius went to Rome, and it has been conjectured that it was the influence of Christian, archbishop of Mainz, which enabled him to do so. Certain it is that it was during the course of the year 1181 that Christian was released from captivity, and that he afterwards exerted himself in the Pope's behalf. It may well be, therefore, that his recovered power effected the establishment of Lucius in Rome. But in any case the Pope was not fated to stop there long, and the whole of his pontificate was embittered by the conduct of the Romans. It would appear that, in his relations with the people of Rome, Lucius was not of so accommodating a temper as Alexander III., and it is said that he refused to grant them certain privileges which his predecessors had granted them. But "Tusculum" would appear to have been again the real cause of the trouble between the Pope and his people. Because Lucius, following the dictates of justice and the example of his predecessors, would not gratify the venomous but childish hatred of the Romans for Tusculum, he had to leave the city (March 1182) and spend the rest of his days in exile.[1]

Rome and Tusculum, 1182-3.

A mutilated portion of the last fragment of the *Annales Romani* which has come down to our times informs us of the cause of the quarrel between Rome and Tusculum in the year 1182. Word was brought to the Romans that the people of Tusculum were repairing

juris. canon., ii. 630), we find a letter of Innocent to the bishop of Spoleto in which he decides that dues must be paid in the kind of money in which they were originally instituted, and discusses the rate of exchange between the money of Pavia and that of Lucca. Whence it appears that one denarius of Pavia was worth three of Lucca.

[1] Roger of Hov., an. 1183, and the contemporary *Annales Lamberti parvi*, an. 1183, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. p. 649. The latter say that the Pope had to leave Rome "propter quasdam exigentias quas Romani exigebant de papatu, et propter Tusculanum castrum." *Cf. Ann. Stadenses*, ap. *ib.*, an. 1183, and the *Ann. Romani*.

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the walls which, as we have seen, they had so treacherously dismantled. Straightway, leaving the government of Rome in the hands of twenty-five senators, the Roman militia marched out against Tusculum, and, putting to the sword all its people whom they managed to surprise, drove the rest into the citadel. To this they laid immediate siege, and gave its gallant defenders no rest by day or night.

Reduced to the last extremity by the attacks of the Romans from without and by thirst and disease from within, the Tusculans contrived to inform the Pope at Velletri of their sad condition.[1] Lucius, accordingly, after a vain appeal to the Senate, turned to Archbishop Christian,[2] who, despite the summer heat, at once raised a considerable force (1183) and advanced on Rome. The mere terror of his name was quite enough for the effervescing courage of the Romans, and twice did it suffice to put them to flight.[3] Ravaging the district round Rome, as the Romans had ravaged the district round Tusculum, the archbishop marched to that little city, and assisted at the reconstruction of its walls.[4]

Death of Christian, archbishop of Mainz, 1183.

Unfortunately, however, for the cause of the Pope, the heats were too much for Christian. Roman fever did what Roman valour could not effect: it struck down the warlike prelate. Face to face with death, the poor archbishop could not but reflect on the great difference there had been between his life of war and licence and his profession.

[1] Here the *Annales* come to an abrupt close.

[2] Ep. 115 to the Teutonic Church, Segni, September 2, 1183. "Cum Romanorum perfidiam, qui patrimonium Ecclesiæ hostiliter devastantes Tusculanum nequiter obsidebant, aliter comprimere non possemus, eumdem archiepiscopum ad obsequium Ecclesiæ convocavimus."

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.* *Cf. Ann. Ceccan.*, 1183, and *Gesta Hen.* (Benedict), and Roger of Hov., an. 1183.

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Accordingly, he confessed his sins to the Pope himself, resigned all his dignities into his hands, resolved to take the cross should God spare his life, and received also from the Pope the Viaticum and Extreme Unction.[1] But the hour of Christian had come, and he died on August 25, 1183. Consoled by his edifying death, but anxious for his salvation on account of his evil life, Lucius exhorted the clergy of Germany to pray for his soul, that their prayers might avail with God both for the pardon of Christian and, as a reward for their piety, for their own salvation.

Savage conduct of the Romans, 1184.

Deprived of his powerful protector, Lucius appealed in vain to various princes for help. From England, as we shall see later, he received some money, but no one at first sent him troops.[2] The Romans had now their own way, and a brutal use they made of their opportunities. Taking the field in the spring (1184), they devastated the territory of Tusculum; but, unable to capture the city, they devoted to the flames the hill cities of Paliano, Serrone, and Præneste (Penestrum?).[3] Especially did they rage against any clerical adherents of the Pope. On one of their raids they captured a number of clerics. Putting out the eyes

[1] "Facta ergo confessione summo Pontifici, de manu ejus communionem sanctam accepit aliaque ecclesiæ sacramenta. Et dominus Papa facta et dicta indulgentia . . . abiit." So wrote Christian II. (*c.* 1250), Christian's successor in the see of Mainz. Ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii. 266, quoted by Watterich, ii. 653. *Cf.* ep. Luc., 115. There is, therefore, no foundation for the story in Roger of H. that the Romans poisoned the Archbishop. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 610, who can tell us of Christian's vices, has no space to speak of his good death. As some return for his help, Christian obtained from the Pope the canonisation of Anno, archbishop of Cologne. *Cf. Translat. S. Annonis*, n. 4, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. p. 516, and *supra*, vol. vi. p. 279 n., etc.

[2] *Paneg.*, p. 12. "Tali tantoque defensore (Christian), lætali *febri* Lucius destitutus, ad Principes litteras misit auxilium petendi causa, at frustratus omni spe."

[3] *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1184.

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of all of them except one, they set on their heads paper mitres on each of which the name of some cardinal was written. The mitre of the cleric whose eyes had been spared bore the inscription, "Lucius, the wicked simoniac." Then, mounted on asses with their faces towards the tails, the poor sightless men, placed under the guidance of the one who had not been deprived of his eyes, were sent off to the Pope.[1]

Lucius goes to the north of Italy, 1184.

Horrified at this worse than brutal deed, Lucius anathematised its perpetrators, forbade all pilgrimages to the shrine of the apostles, and, justly "thinking that it was hopeless to dream of reconciliation with the Romans, shook off the dust from beneath his feet against them,"[2] and betook himself to Lombardy to seek help from the emperor (June 1184). He journeyed north by the east coast, consecrating churches as he went along. The most curious record of these consecrations is a contemporary inscription in the exterior wall of the duomo of Modena. After setting forth the fact of the Pope's consecrating the Church of St. Geminiano, the inscription tells of his triumphant departure from the city, when he was accompanied by over two thousand men with lighted tapers (July 14).[3]

[1] The perpetration of this atrocious deed is attested not merely by the *Annales Stadenses*, an. 1183, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. (according to these annals, those blinded were twenty-six soldiers of Tusculum); Sigebert. *Chron. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1184; Robert of Auxerre (†1212), *Chron.*, 1183 ("multis ex parte Papæ captis"); Nicholas of Amiens (also a contemporary), *Chron.*, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xviii. 701, but also by Cardinal Pandulf. "Romani iterum cœperunt Tusculum infestare, loca circum flammis tradere, et cum in clericos inciderent, hos contumeliis effecerunt . . . et oculis ex orbitis obductis, ligarunt super jumentis, et sic ad Papam remiserunt." *Paneg.*, p. 12. *Cf.* p. 10, where he repeats the same assertion, and adds: "et vos, Fratres, testes fuistis, nec mentior!"

[2] *Paneg.*, p. 12; and Robert of Auxerre, *l.c.*

[3] Jozzi, p. 20 f., gives the inscription in full. From it I extract a curious form of an indulgence: "40 dierum pœnam de criminalibus

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Before Lucius met the emperor, he had induced Count Berthold of Kunsberg, Frederick's representative in Italy,[1] to march to the defence of Tusculum, and to recover the fortress of Rocca di Papa which, overlooked by Mount Algidus, and strongly situated on an isolated cone of rock at the margin of the amphitheatre known as the Camp of Hannibal, lorded it over a portion of the Campagna. But the fortress on the side of Monte Cavo was too well defended to be captured by the legate, and he had to content himself with harrying the cattle of the Romans.[2]

An imperial legate in the Campagna, 1184.

Thus held in check by the count the valiant Romans began to wish for peace, and, readily accepting the money which England and other countries had presented to the Pope, they agreed to a suspension of hostilities.[3] Hoveden, indeed, whom we are quoting, calls this arrangement between the Romans and the Pope "a peace necessary to himself and to the Roman Church." But we shall have to wait for the days of Clement III. before an understanding, which could be truly described as a peace, was arrived at between the Pope and the citizens of Rome.

A truce between the Romans and the Pope, 1184.

When Lucius reached the north of Italy he found settled peace between the Empire and the communes. In the preceding year (1183) the peace of Constance had put the seal on that of Venice.[4] The Lombard communes had won

The Pope and the emperor meet at Verona, 1184.

de quibus confessi fuerint, et quartam partem venialium . . . remisit." The *Annales vet. Mutinenses*, an. 1184, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xi. p. 54 f., repeating almost the same words as the inscription, have the variation: "40 dierum de indulgentia de criminibus."

[1] He appears as "legatus in Italia, legatus Italiæ, legatus dom. imp. Fred. in Italia."

[2] *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1184. *Cf. Anon. Chron. Cas.*, 1184, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 70.

[3] Roger of Hov., *Chron.*, 1183, ii. 283, R. S.

[4] The terms of the peace may be read ap. Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Select.*, iv. n. 51, p. 265 ff.; and, in English, ap. Thatcher, *A Source-book for Medieval Hist.*, p. 199 ff.

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their freedom, and the great war was at an end—the war in which quite an exceptional share of sympathy can be accorded to all the parties concerned. "The great figure of Barbarossa . . . upholding what he regarded as the sacred rights of the Empire; the steadfast and lofty-minded pontiff, the champion of the freedom of the Church and of the liberties of the communes; the nameless heroes, with their watchword of 'Liberty,' who closed round the war-car of Milan at Legnano; the unknown statesmen who planned the league—all alike deserve our admiration, and compel our respect."[1] But though Barbarossa did not again wage the same fierce war on the Church, it cannot be said that he displayed the same good feeling towards the Papacy as he did towards the free cities of the Lombard plain.

Lucius reached Verona on July 22, and received a splendid reception from its people.[2] About three months later he was joined by the emperor, who was as anxious to interview the Pope as Lucius was to meet him.[3] Many most important questions were debated between them,[4] of

[1] Butler, *The Lombard Communes*, p. 157 f.

[2] *Necrologium Veronense*, ap. Watterich, ii. 657, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. p. 5.

[3] *Ann. Aquenses*, ann. 1183, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 687; *Ann. Ratispon.*, an. 1184, ap. *ib.*, xvii. p. 309.

[4] We cannot unfold all the points at length. There was another abortive attempt to settle the question of the donation of Matilda (Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, iii. 11), and at the request of Henry II. of England, Lucius succeeded in inducing Frederick to restore to his favour Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the son-in-law of our king (Roger of Hov., *Chron.*, 1184, ii. p. 289, R. S.; *cf.* the corresponding passage in *Gesta Hen.*). The papal legates at Constance (1183) had allowed the reordination of certain of the inferior clergy who had been ordained by the schismatics but had been deposed by Alexander III. (*Ann. Marbach.*, an. 1183). Consequently, a great many such clerics came to Verona, and Frederick requested the same favour for them. At first Lucius showed himself disposed to grant it, but afterwards declined, saying that what had been decreed by a great council could only be revoked by a great council (Arnold, *l.c.*).

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which some concerned fundamental points of hierarchical government or of civil policy on which the Church and the Empire were in complete opposition, and of which others regarded general questions of civil and ecclesiastical policy on which both powers were agreed. Questions of the former kind dealt with episcopal elections and the relation of the kingdom of Sicily to the Empire, whereas the Crusades and the treatment of heretics appertained to the latter category.

The dispute about the succession to the see of Trier.

On the death of Arnold, archbishop of Trier (1183), there took place a double election, and, as is usual in such cases, it is not easy to ascertain the truth about it. However, as the author of the *Gesta Trevirorum*,[1] who strongly favours the candidate accepted by the emperor, frankly allows that no sooner was Arnold dead than imperial emissaries presented themselves, and, setting aside Arnold's will, violently seized his property, we may be allowed to suspect undue imperial interference, and to prefer the narratives of Arnold of Lubeck and of the biographer of St. Hildegard to that of the author of the *Gesta*. According to both the last-named authors,[2] one Volmar (or Volcmar) was first elected, and that, too, by the larger and more responsible party. The other side, however, alleging that his election was void because his party had anticipated the time at which it had been agreed to hold the election, maintained that their candidate Rudolf was properly elected because he had been chosen at the appointed time.

[1] Ap. Watterich, ii. 653 ff., 660 ff., 665 f., 669 f., 689 f., or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 383 ff.; *Gest. Trev. contin. III.*, c. 5–13.

[2] Arnold, *Chron. Slav*, iii. 11, and *Vita S. Hild.*, ii. 11, ap. *Acta SS.*, April, ii. p. 782. The latter writer states (1) that Volmar was elected: "pari voto, communique consilio, ferme tota civitas Trevirensis elegerat in Pastorem," and (2) that Rudolf was nominated by the emperor: "Rudolfum . . . Fridericus imperator nominavit, paucis sibi faventibus timore potius imperatoriæ majestatis quam amore . . . pietatis." It is allowed on all hands that both Volmar and Rudolf were worthy candidates.

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Volmar at once appealed to the Pope, and Rudolf to the emperor, on the ground that, according to the Concordat of Worms (1122), the emperor had certain rights in the case of disputed elections. The Concordat had, in fact, laid down that elections to prelacies had to be free, but that, if any disagreement arose, the emperor, acting on the advice of the metropolitan and the bishops of the province, should support the party which had more justice on its side.[1] But whatever rights the Concordat had given Frederick, there is no evidence that he attempted to fulfil the conditions according to which they had been granted to him. The *Gesta*, indeed, asserts that the emperor acted in accordance with the decision of the *Princes* (*per sententiam principum*), but says nothing of an episcopal examination into the facts of the case.[2] At any rate, Frederick granted Rudolf the investiture of the temporalities of the see, and asked the Pope to consecrate him. The affair was ardently discussed at Verona, and, as Lucius was convinced that Volmar's election was canonical, he would not comply with the emperor's wishes. The result was that, as both Pope and emperor felt that their rights were deeply involved in the case, neither of them would give way, and no decision on the matter was come to at Verona.[3] The schism lasted for seven years, and, as

[1] "Ut si qua inter partes discordia emerserit, metropolitani et comprovincialium consilio vel judicio, saniori parte assensum et auxilium prebeas." *Cf.* Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Select.*, iii. no. 21, p. 60.

[2] Our own contemporary historian, Ralph Niger (†*c.* 1205), sees clearly the principle involved in the dispute; it was whether the Pope or the emperor should have the decisive voice in every case of a disputed election. Ralph says that Frederick harried the Church: "quod non concederetur ei privilegium, ut in omni electione episcopi vel abbatis discordante, ipse ad arbitrium suum eligeret abbatem vel episcopum."

[3] "Quia ita perplexum erat negotium, ut hinc imperatorem inde Papam graviter tangere videretur, diffinitivam sententiam promulgare distulit." *Gesta*, c. 6.

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Volmar endeavoured to enlist in his cause the kings of France and England, the double election of Trier embroiled half Europe.[1]

Frederick, and especially his son Henry, who had already given every indication of the possession of a haughty, savage temper that would brook no opposition, soon had recourse to violence. The emperor threatened with flogging or death anyone who should be found carrying letters of appeal to Rome, and his son, "violating the rights of the city of Trier," plundered the houses of Volmar's adherents.[2] To this Urban III., the successor of Lucius, replied by declaring the election of Rudolf null and void, and by consecrating Volmar with his own hands, though, according to the very partial *Gesta*,[3] he had previously sworn not to do so. The emperor retorted by forcing the people of Trier to receive Rudolf, while the Pope proceeded to appoint Volmar his legate.[4] Elated by this new authority, Volmar summoned the suffragans of the archdiocese to meet him in council, and, freely launching sentences of excommunication, caused dreadful confusion. And although by an alliance between Philip Augustus and Frederick he was deprived of the protection of France, he secured that of England and of the arch-

[1] "Nam fere totus mundus . . . ex hoc facto commotus est." *Gesta*, c. 7.

[2] *Vit. S. Hildg.*, *l.c.* ; *Gesta*, c. 7 ; Arnold, *l.c.* "Rex juvenis et superbus, zelatus pro Rotholpho."

[3] *Gesta*, c. 8. Arnold, iii. 11 and 17, only says that the Pope acted in this matter "contra voluntatem imperatoris," and declares that the emperor's son was largely to blame for the whole trouble. But Wichmann, archbishop of Magdeburg, writing to Urban, declared that three papal envoys to the emperor assured him that their master had solemnly promised not to consecrate Volmar: "nunquam vos consecraturum in verbo domini firmiter promiseritis." Ep. ap. Watterich, ii. 676. It is, of course, quite possible, if not even more than probable, that the promise was conditional.

[4] *Gesta*, c. 10.

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bishop of Cologne (December 1187). However, on the death of Urban, who is said by the *Gesta* to have opposed Frederick on principle because he had grievously maltreated some of his relations when he captured Milan, Volmar did not find so much favour with his short-lived successor, Gregory VIII. Indeed, that pontiff sternly forbade him to issue any more sentences of excommunication without the consent of the Holy See.[1] Besides, with him everything had to give way to the Crusades. Jerusalem had been captured by Saladin (1187), and it was necessary to pacify the emperor at all costs in order that he might lead a new Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land.

The long dispute, however, was only settled in the pontificate of Clement III. Distressed at the disastrous consequences which had followed the quarrel between the Church and the Empire on this election question, Clement continued the work of his immediate predecessor, and strove hard to prevent the rise therefrom of any further evils. To facilitate the settlement of the difficulty, he summoned the archbishop (Volmar) to Rome. But, for some unexplained reason, Volmar would not obey the summons. Clement, therefore, addressed a letter to the chapter of Trier and to the people of the archdiocese absolving them from all obedience either in spiritual or temporal concerns to Volmar or to Rudolf, and "by virtue of his authority" he deprived the archbishop of all rights in the diocese of Trier.[2] Finally, all who, simply by reason of

[1] *Gesta*, c. 11. *Cf.* ep. 20 Greg., ap. *P. L.*, t. 202.

[2] Clement goes on to say that this had already been agreed upon before the death of Urban. "Sicut dum Verone essemus, vivente adhuc b. m. Urbano prædecessore nostro, inter ipsum et imperiales nuntios condictum fuerat et statutum, prout in litteris compositionis apparet." Ep. 123 Clem., ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 1442 f., Lateran, June 26, 1189. This suffices to show that there was not that uncompromising dislike between Urban and the emperor which the very partial author of the *Gesta* pretends.

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the schism, had suffered in their goods or privileges were to be compensated, and as to Volmar, "the Apostolic See," said the Pope, "will provide for him honourably elsewhere."[1] The whole affair terminated by the election of "the lord John, chancellor of the Empire," who was universally accepted.

The marriage of Constance of Sicily and Henry of Germany.

The next item discussed at Verona between Frederick and Lucius, on which they were in absolute disagreement, was the question of the marriage between Frederick's son Henry and Constance, heir to the crown of Sicily. For some years past Frederick, unable to effect his purpose by force of arms, had been striving to absorb the kingdom of Sicily by marriage. He attempted to bring about a marriage between its king, William II., and one of his daughters. This scheme was checked by Alexander III., who helped to wed to the Sicilian king, Jane, daughter of Henry II. of England (February 1177).[2] Foiled in this direction, Frederick afterwards proposed to William a matrimonial alliance between his son Henry and the king's aunt Constance,[3] then the heir-presumptive to the throne of Sicily. According to Peter of Eboli, Pope Lucius promoted this scheme; but, considering the whole course of papal policy, this is to the last degree unlikely, and, as Peter shows himself ill-informed in the very passage where he makes this assertion, no weight need be attached to it.[4]

[1] *Ib.* "Nos etenim Fulmaro . . . alicubi per sedem apostolicam honeste volumus provideri." A comparison between this authentic document and c. 13 of the *Gesta* will show with what suspicion that account must be read.

[2] "Rex . . . Henricus, Papæ Alexandri et Principum suorum consiliis acquiescens," etc. Romuald of Salerno, an. 1174, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 216. *Cf. ib.*, pp. 214-5.

[3] Constance and William I. (the Bad), the father of William II. (the Good), were children of the great King Roger II.

[4] "Lucius in nuptu pronuba causa fuit;
Lucius hos jungit (Lucius was dead when they were married)
quos Celestinus inungit."—Vv. 22-3, p. 5, ed. Siragusa.

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William listened to the proposal, and the engagement was solemnly proclaimed at Augsburg (October 1184).[1] But it was only after the death of Lucius that, in presence of two papal legates, the marriage was celebrated at Milan (January 27, 1186)[2] which was to bring so much trouble to the Papacy, and was to end the Norman rule in Sicily.

The Crusades. Approaching dissolution of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

But if Lucius and Frederick took very different views of some matters, there were others on which they were in complete accord. They were both agreed that something must be done for the Holy Land. For many years the power of the renowned Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, had been steadily increasing, and one misfortune after another had been dogging the rulers of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin IV. (1173–1185) was a leper, and as the fell disease soon rendered him incapable, Guy of Lusignan, the husband of Baldwin's sister Sibyl, was declared regent. But Guy appears to have been incompetent. The regency was taken from him, and given to Raymond III., count of Tripoli (1184). The following year Baldwin the Leper died, and in the year after that the young Baldwin V., the child of Sibyl and Guy, also died. With great unwilling-

[1] *Ann. Marbach.*, an. 1184, ed. Bloch, p. 55; *Contin. Zwetlensis*, 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 542; and *Ann. Stadenses*, an. 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. The last named note that whereas Henry was a mere youth (*adolescentulus*), Constance was sixty (*jam sexagenaria*), and that it was agreed that, if William II. had no heir, Constance should inherit the Sicilian kingdom.

[2] Unable to prevent the marriage, Urban III. sent the cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Cardinal "Sufredus" (Godfrey) to grace it. *Chron. de reb. in Ital.*, an. 1184, ed. H.-Bréholles, p. 138. See the lament of Hugo Falcandus on the terrible inflictions wrought on the two Sicilies when Henry VI. came to claim them in right of his wife. "Constantia primis a cunabulis in deliciarum tuarum affluentia diutius educata, . . . tandem opibus tuis Babaros ditatura discessit; et nunc cum ingentibus copiis vicem improbam repensura revertitur, ut . . . munditiam tuam, qua regnis omnibus antecellis, barbarica fœditate contaminet." *Cf.* the whole preface to his *Historia*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 251 ff.

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Photo Francesco Verderosa

The Throne of William II. in the Duomo of Monreale.

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ness on the part of many, Sibyl was crowned queen of the Latin kingdom (September 1198), and her weak husband, Guy of Lusignan, became king, the last Christian king who actually ruled in Jerusalem. For some years before this, despairing but almost fruitless appeals for help had been addressed to the princes of Europe. A very special attempt to obtain assistance was made in the year 1184, when Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Grand Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers appeared before the Pope and the emperor at Verona.[1] To their entreaties the Pope added his, and, though unable or unwilling to act at once (perhaps because he thought that immediate help was not required), Barbarossa nevertheless promised to take the cross in due course.[2]

Letters to the Pope from Saladin and his brother.

Among those whom the meeting of the Pope and the emperor had drawn to Verona was an envoy of Saladin himself. He had come with letters to the Pope from the great Sultan and from his brother Seif ed Dîn (Safadin), at this time representing Saladin in Egypt. Lucius and Alexander before him had written to these two potentates in the interests of peace and of an exchange of prisoners, and they returned most courteous replies. Saladin, styling himself "the most powerful of all the kings of the East," begins his letter by saying that he is aware that by the will of God the Pope occupies the highest position in the world, and that all Christians obey him.[3] He has therefore listened with all respect to what the Pope had to say con-

[1] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymag. Hist.*, 1184, ii. pp. 27, 30, 32, R. S.; *Ann. Marbacenses*, 1184; and *Ann. Stad.*, 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

[2] *Ann. Mellicens. contin. Zwetlensis II.*, an. 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 542. "Ipse, precibus istorum et exhortacione summi Pontificis inductus, facere promisit."

[3] "Credimus quod sitis in majori officio de hoc mundo, et scimus quod Deus vobis tantam gratiam dederit ut sedeatis in tanta magnitudine." The two letters are given by Diceto, *l.c.*, p. 25 f.

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cerning peace, but he must point out that the prisoners he holds are persons of importance, whereas those held by the Christians are men of no account. The prisoners should therefore be valued for ransom purposes, and the side which had the less valuable number of prisoners should pay the difference in money to the other side.[1] The Sultan concludes by saying that the more important matters have been committed to the ears of the Pope's legate, Oliver Vitalis.

The letter addressed by Saladin's brother "lord of all the Saracens," to Lucius, "the supreme lord of Christendom," while full of "his most victorious brother," is practically to the same effect.[2]

Lucius fails to induce King Henry to lead a crusade.

Lucius, however, understood perfectly well that he was getting from the Saracen rulers nothing more than honied words. Any doubt he might have entertained on the subject was set at rest by the words of Saladin's envoy. He declared that his master styled himself the "glorious Joseph of Egypt," and claimed Jerusalem as his by hereditary right from Sara.[3] Accordingly, disappointed that

[1] That seemingly must be the gist of the proposal, though the Latin text does not give it. Probably we should read "majus" for "minus." "Nos appreciabimus captivos nostros quos habemus, et Christiani apprecient suos, et quæ pars minus (majus?) habuerit restituetur ei ab altera."

[2] Seif ed Dîn's letter is dated March 31, 1183 ("pridie kalendis Aprilis anno Machometi 578"), and concludes, "We give thanks to God alone, and to the great prophet Mahomet."

[3] *Ann. Stad.*, 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.* xvi. The Joseph referred to is, of course, the great-grandson of Sara, the wife of Abram, to whom it may be said that the Holy Land was entrusted by God. The author of the *Itinerarium Ricard I.* (often wrongly ascribed to Geoffrey of Vinsauf) says that Saladin was also called Joseph, in accordance with a common custom of the Moslems to give their children Hebrew names in addition to Arabic when they circumcised them. Lib. i., c. 3. In a letter written about this time, Saladin himself declared: "In gratitude for the divine favour, we must expend our power and redouble our resolution and employ every weapon against the accursed Franks." Quoted by Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 230.

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Frederick did not immediately assume the cross, Lucius despatched the patriarch Heraclius and his companions to England, and entrusted them with a letter to Henry, grandson of Fulk, the late king of Jerusalem, first-cousin to the then reigning King Baldwin IV., and already pledged to the defence of the Holy Land. By it he endeavoured to persuade that monarch to put his promises into effect, and to march without delay to the succour of "the land of Jerusalem . . . which is now tottering to its fall." He assured Henry that Christendom looked up to the kings of England as the most distinguished for glory in arms and nobleness of spirit, and urged him to stretch forth his mighty arm to protect "the members of Him who has in His mercy allowed you to reach such a height of glory. . . . Saladin is to such a degree putting forth all the might of his wickedness for the destruction of the faithful, that, unless the vehement onset of his malice is checked . . . the land that was consecrated by the shedding of the vivifying Blood will be polluted by the contact of his most abominable superstitions."[1] But though Henry granted his subjects permission to assume the cross, and gave large sums of money towards the expenses of a crusade, the patriarch could not induce either Henry or Philip of France to take command of an expedition against Saladin.

The repression of heretics.

Another very important point also on which both Pope and emperor were agreed was the necessity of checking the spread of certain heresies. It was therefore decreed by the Pope, "with the support of the emperor and the advice of the bishops," that all heresies were to be condemned, especially the Cathari,[2] "those who falsely call

[1] Ep. ap. Hoveden, an. 1185, R. S., ii. 300. *Cf. Gesta Hen.*, 1184, R. S., i. 328 ff., 335 f., 338, and *Itin. Ric. I.*, i. 12; Will. of Newburgh, iii. 12, 13, and especially Giraldus Cambrensis, *De instruc. princip.*, c. 24–28.

[2] See above, p. 144 ff.

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themselves Humiliati[1] or the Poor Men of Lyons,"[2] the Arnoldists, etc. Those also were anathematised who presumed to preach without permission of the proper authorities, who put forward doctrines on the sacraments

[1] A society of mystics of doubtful orthodoxy. *Cf.* Ep. Innocent III., *Reg.*, ii. 228.

[2] This sect was founded *c.* 1170 by Peter Waldo, a rich but not very learned merchant of Lyons, who gave up all his possessions and preached poverty. Many of his followers, however, soon fell into heresy, and embraced the doctrines of the Cathari and other heretics. They had at first been condemned at Rome (1179) only as "contumacious and schismatics" (*pertinaces et schismatici*). After that, however, many of them, as we have said, adopted the heretical doctrines of the Cathari, and hence all of them were often confused with those sectaries. "Sicque dispersi per provincias, et confinibus Lombardiæ cum aliis hæreticis se miscentes et eorum errores bibentes et sectantes fuerunt hæretici judicati, quorum errores et hæreses alibi sunt vocati." *Vita Alex. III.*, by Bernard Guido (1260–1331), who appears to be here following Richard of Cluny (fl. 1162), ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i., p. 447. But, though on some points the doctrines of the Waldenses agreed with those of the Cathari, on the other points they were quite different from them. Waldo caused the Gospels, some other books of the Bible, and certain authoritative utterances of the saints (*auctoritates sanctorum*) to be translated into the Provençal dialect ("in vulgari—in Romano—librum . . . lingua conscriptum Gallica"). Interpreting this collection with more zeal than knowledge, he took upon himself to teach what he conceived to be the Gospel of Christ, and sent his illiterate followers into the highways and byways to do the same. Some of them even went to Rome, showed their Provençal book to Alexander III., and begged his permission to teach. But the gospel of poverty taught by the "poor man" of Lyons was not that afterwards taught by the "poor man" of Assisi, and Alexander III. could not approve of the vagaries of the former and his followers. Our lively countryman, Walter Map, met them when they were in Rome, and his description of them is not flattering. He calls them "idiotas, illiteratos . . . quia periti sibi videbantur, cum vix essent scioli . . . et quia a nullo regebantur et rectores appetebant fieri" (*De Nugis*, dis. i. c. 31, ed. Wright). If Conrad (Burch. et Cuonrad., *Urspergens. Chron.*, 1212, p. 99, ed. Pertz) has not made a mistake in dates, the Waldenses made another vain attempt to obtain leave to preach from Lucius III. At first the errors of the Waldenses did not go beyond disobedience and involuntary mistakes in teaching, begotten of ignorance; but disobedience soon engendered contempt of the clergy, and doctrines first put forth through lack of knowledge became through contuma-

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of baptism, matrimony, etc., other than those taught by "the holy Roman Church," and who protected "the consoled (*consolati*), the believers (*credentes*), and the perfect (*perfecti*)."[1]

The decrees against preaching without proper authority were levelled especially against the Waldenses and the

ciousness the fixed creed of a new sect. *Cf.* Moneta, who wrote in 1244 (ap. Melia, p. 4 ff.), and Stephen Borbone (†1261), *ib.*, p. 9 ff. His *Tractatus de Septem donis S. Sancti* has been reproduced in its historic side by Lecoy de la Marche (*Anecdot. hist., légendes*, Paris, 1877). See also especially, *Chron. Laudun.*, ann. 1173, 1177, ed. Cartellieri, etc. Thus the Waldenses held that the Church of God had become extinct for many centuries until it was revived by Peter Waldo; that the Scriptures alone are sufficient to guide men to salvation; that no obedience is due to the Church of Rome; that anyone has a right to preach and to administer the Sacraments; that oaths may not be taken; that no worship is to be given to the saints; that there is no purgatory, etc. S. R. Maitland (*Facts and Documents illustrative of the Albigenses and Waldenses*, London, 1832) with his customary incisiveness, has proved how much that is grossly inaccurate has been said about the followers of Peter Waldo, and about the Albigensians. His work has a lengthy appendix in which his authorities are printed in full. Many contemporary documents about the Waldenses are also given by P. Melia, *The Origin, Persecutions, and Doctrines of the Waldenses*, London, 1870. There is an enormous amount of literature on these sectaries, but most of that which was published in England in the first half of last century is of no value as history. See the important note on the Waldenses by C. Schmidt, sometime professor at the Protestant seminary of Strasburg, in his *Histoire et doc. des Cathares ou Albigeois*, ii. p. 293, Geneva, 1849. See his next note on the other heretics mentioned in this decree. Douais, *Les Albigeois*, p. 307 ff., Paris, 1880, may also be consulted on the Waldenses.

[1] These were different grades of the Cathari. The Perfect or Perfected were the highest grade, and were such as had received the *consolamentum*, a kind of sacrament made up of baptism, confirmation, penance, and the other sacraments except the Eucharist, and given by the laying on of hands. *Cf.* Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, pp. 74–5, 82–7, New York or London, 1908. *Cf.* Guiraud, *Le "consolamentum" Cathare*, either ap. *Revue des Quest. hist.*, January 1904, p. 74 ff., or ap. his *Quest. d'hist.*, p. 95 ff., Paris, 1906. Conybeare has translated the Provençal ritual of the Cathari into English, *Key of Truth*, p. 160 ff.

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Humiliati. Alexander III., who had summoned the former to Rome,[1] was very much affected by the voluntary renunciation of his property which Peter Waldo, their founder, had made, and had even contemplated allowing his followers to preach if they were requested to do so by the parish priests.[2] But, though he had approved the rule of life of the Humiliati, he had expressly forbidden them "to form conventicles, or to preach in public."[3] Both sets of these new sectaries, however, soon disobeyed the Pope's injunctions,[4] and brought on themselves the condemnation of Church and State alike.[5]

This decree, however, did not content itself with subjecting these heretics to spiritual punishments; it proceeded to condemn them to temporal punishments, invoking the aid of the secular arm against them, and instituting an inquisition. Clerics found guilty of the aforesaid errors were, unless repentant, to be degraded and then "left to

[1] "Ad Concilium quod fuit Rome ante Lateranense vocati." Stephen de Borbone, ap. Melia, p. 13 n., or ap. Lecoy, *Anecdot.*, p. 292.

[2] "Waldesium amplexatus est papa (Alexander), approbans votum quod fecerat voluntarie paupertatis, inhibens eidem, ne vel ipse aut socii sui predicacionis officium presumerent, nisi rogantibus sacerdotibus." *Chron. Laudun.*, an. 1178, ed. Cartellieri, p. 29.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] "Quod preceptam modico tempore servaverunt; unde extunc facti inobedientes, multis fuerunt in scandalum et sibi in ruinam." *Ib.*

[5] "Tulit etiam imperator legem, ut hæretici nullo jure, nulla lege tuerentur libertatis." *Ib.*, an. 1182, p. 32. *History of the Waldenses in Italy*, by E. Comba, London, 1889, is a translation of a work by a Waldensian. Its usefulness is almost completely spoiled by its exaggerated style, of which the following (p. 15), taken at random, is a specimen: "Zeal for the worship of images knew no bounds. God was made to appear to have abdicated His throne. Thanks to the ingenuity of the canons, it was made to seem as if that Divine power were passing into the hands of the Child Jesus, under the absolute regency of the Madonna." The famous contemporary mystic, Joachim of Flora, dénounces the pride of the Waldenses which led them to throw off the yoke of Church authority. *Cf.* Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore*, pp. 13, 31, Paris, 1909.

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the discretion of the secular power to receive due punishment."[1] Laymen also under similar circumstances were left to the same discretion. Even suspects were to be treated in like manner unless they proved their innocence. Such as were convicted of having relapsed into a heresy which they had previously abjured, were to be at once handed over to the secular judgment without more ado. And bishops who refrained from publishing these penalties were to be suspended for three years.

Institution of an Inquisition.

"To this," continues the decree, "with the advice (*consilio*) of the bishops, and by the suggestion of the emperor and the princes, we add that every bishop by himself . . . or by other trustworthy and fit persons, shall once or twice a year visit any parish in which heretics may be reported to reside, and there call upon three or more respectable persons (*boni testimonii viros*), or, if advisable, upon the whole neighbourhood, to take an oath that if anyone shall know that there are heretics in the place, or any persons holding secret conventicles, or differing in life and manners from the common conversation of the faithful, he will make it his business to point them out to the bishop."

[1] "Clericus . . . totius ecclesiastici ordinis prærogativa nudetur, et . . . sæcularis relinquatur arbitrio potestatis animadversione debita puniendus." Labbe, *Conc.*, x. p. 1738. A continuation of the Annals of Zwettl sums up the decree of the council by saying that the Pope excommunicated the heretics, and the emperor placed them under the ban of the Empire (an. 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 542). The ban involved "banishment, the confiscation of the property, and the destruction of the houses of the condemned, public infamy, and the inability to hold office," etc. Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, p. 57. *Cf.* ep. Luci. to the clergy of Rimini urging them to bid the Podestà and the citizens to expel the Patarenes and to correct their vices, Jaffé, 15,461. The oldest code of Verona itself, which was committed to writing as early as 1228 and was printed in 1728 (Verona) by Campagnola, decreed (c. 156) that it was the business of the Podestà to expel the Patarenes, etc., from the city, and to destroy the houses in which they had dwelt. *Cf.* Allen, *A Hist. of Verona*, pp. 28, 33, London, 1910.

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All civil authorities were to aid the ecclesiastical authorities in their efforts against heresy when called upon to do so. Finally, it was decided that "all favourers of heretics, as being condemned to perpetual infamy, are not to be admitted as advocates and witnesses, or to other public offices."[1]

Cause of the increasing severity of decrees against heretics.

If these decrees be compared with those of Alexander III. on the same subject, it will be observed that the antagonism of the Church and State[2] towards heretics is becoming more uncompromising. Unquestionably the cause of this was the baleful dogmas and secret methods of the Cathari, and the subversive doctrines of the followers of Arnold of Brescia.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries there were in Eastern Europe certain sectaries, of whom the chief were the Paulicians and the Bogomils (Friends of God), who held in common, if not the Manichæan dualistic doctrine of two eternal principles, one good and one evil,[3] at least

[1] Labbe, *ib.*, p. 1739. Maitland's translation is generally used. His work is invaluable to the English reader, as he gives translations of the Latin originals which he quotes.

[2] "Ecclesiastica similiter et imperialia statuta" is the description given to the decrees just cited. *Ib.*, p. 1738.

[3] According to the patriarch Photius, Peter Siculus, George the Monk, all of the ninth century, the Armenian, Gregory of Narek (951–1003, ap. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 128, Oxford, 1898), Gregory Magistros (†1058, ap. *ib.*, pp. 147–8, 151), John of Otzun (Catholicos of Armenia in 718, ap. *ib.* p. 153), and Nerses Clajensis (1100–1173, ap. *ib.*, p. 159), the Paulicians were tainted with Manichæism. But on the strength of a Paulician ritual, *The Key of Truth*, in a multilated and interpolated *copy* written as late as 1782, Conybeare, who has published the original Armenian and an English translation, would argue that the Paulicians were Adoptionists, and therefore not Manichæans. Whatever some of the descendants of the Paulicians taught in 1782, it would seem difficult to believe, in the face of the evidence cited, that some of them did not hold Manichæan doctrines in the ninth century. *Cf.* Bury's *Gibbon*, vi. p. 110 ff.; Appendix VI., p. 540 ff. The Paulicians had come into Europe from Asia Minor in the eighth century, and in the tenth century originated *Bogomilism*. On the Bogomils, see Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic*

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dogmas opposed to Church authority and to the sacramental system. They were bitterly persecuted by the Byzantine emperors. To escape the avenging sword of the Basileus of Constantinople, many of them fled to the West, and began in secret to spread their mischievous opinions. They engendered the Cathari; or, at any rate, they infused new life into existing remnants of Manichæan sects which then developed into those bodies of heretics that about this time came to be known as Cathari.

Now, in order to estimate fairly the action of the Church and State in dealing with heretics at this period, it must be borne in mind that the then dominant sect was that of these very Cathari,[1] and that their doctrines did not differ merely speculatively from those of the Catholic Church, but were in actual practice opposed not only to the possibility of an organised Church or State, but to the very existence of the human race. Passing over their abuse of the Church of Rome, and their denial of its most characteristic dogmas, it will be enough if we point out here that, by their refusal to take oaths, they aimed a death-blow at the whole of Western society, which in the Middle Ages was regulated by the feudal oath; that their denial of the right of the State to take life for any cause told in the same direction; and finally, that their antipathy to sexual relations, and their inculcation of the *Endura*,[2] *i.e.*, suicide,

Literature, c. 2; Evans, *Through Bosnia*, p. xxiii ff., London, 1876; Leger, *L'Hérésie des Bogomiles en Bosnie*, ap. *Rev. des Quest. hist.*, vol. viii. (1870), p. 479 ff., and especially Asboth, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, p. 25 ff., London, 1890. *Cf. supra*, vol. viii. pp. 150–1. What I have said about the Paulicians, *supra*, vi. 66, should be modified by this note.

[1] Bonacursus, himself once a Catharan, asks (*c.* 1190): "Are not the cities and towns, the villages and hamlets, full of these false prophets?" *Libellus contra Cath.*, Pref., ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 778. Hence when the records of this age speak of "the heretics," they refer to the Cathari.

[2] "Everyone who reads the acts of the tribunals of the Inquisition

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to prevent consent to temptation, were opposed to the continuation of the human race. Nor must it be thought that these doctrines were the vagaries of individual teachers among the Cathari or Albigensians, or that they were forced deductions from practically harmless principles. They were the natural deductions from their fundamental dogma that matter, as created by the eternal principle of evil, was evil in itself, and that contact with it was therefore evil. Hence to hold property was evil, as was also to kill any living thing, except a reptile, because it might be animated by a human soul imprisoned within it as a punishment. Hence also, as we have seen, marital relations, and indeed all family ties, were evil.[1] No wonder then that Maitland, the one of all our historians who has made the most careful examination of the doctrines of the Cathari or Albigensians, concludes that they "were either hypocritical impostors or misguided fanatics."[2]

Obviously neither the Church nor the State could allow

of Toulouse and Carcassone must admit that the *Endura*, voluntary or forced, put to death more victims than the stake of the Inquisition." Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, p. 101, quoting Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i. p. 226, Munich, 1890.

[1] *Cf.* Douais, *Les Albigeois*, p. 217 ff. However exactly the *Perfected* observed the strictest chastity, the *Credentes* were lax enough. *Cf. ib.*, pp. 248, 250–1. The worthy old monk Cesar of Heisterbach, who wrote his *Dialogus Miraculorum* in the days of Pope Honorius III., gives us a well-authenticated case of at least one meeting-house of these sectaries at Verona, whilst Frederick and Lucius III. were there, in which, on the conclusion of the service, the lights were put out, and promiscuous intercourse took place. Cesar had been told of this by one of his brethren, Godescalc, who had the story from his own brother Everhard, a young worldling ("juvenis luxuriosus et vagus"), who had taken part in the proceedings, and who, when upbraided by his brother for his conduct, candidly replied that he had gone "to the conventicles of the heretics, 'non propter hæreses, sed propter puellas.'" Dis. v., c. 24, i. pp. 307–8, ed. Strange, Cologne, 1851. The *Credentes*, far the more numerous section of the Cathari, could fight, amass wealth, marry, and have the same food as other men.

[2] *Facts and Documents*, p. 137.

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such doctrines to be freely propagated; but neither had the elaborate machinery of complete police supervision, of compulsory education and the rest for dealing with extravagant doctrines, which is in the hands of the modern legislator. Consequently, the men who held these "most depraved doctrines" were not merely excommunicated by the Church, but, with its consent, "they and their goods were placed under the ban of the Empire."[1]

Change of the attitude of the Church towards heretics.

In the decrees of Alexander III. and Lucius III. against heretics we are watching a change in the policy of the Church in its treatment of them. Considering, on the one hand, the circumstances of the age, its defective legislative and administrative appliances, and its more ordinary use of violent methods; and, on the other hand, considering the outrageous nature of the doctrines of the chief heresies of the age, the employment of force in coping with heretics may possibly have been necessary. But in any case the necessity was regrettable. Not only was such persecution as Alexander sanctioned opposed to the best traditions of the Church, but it opened the way to worse. The emperor Frederick II. was soon to decree the death penalty against heresy, which, along with the use of torture, was to be approved by the Popes, and then, despite all papal efforts to the contrary, States were to end by using the excuse of proceeding against heretics to further the objects of their diplomacy, whether good or bad.

In the days of pagan persecution, and even for some time after Constantine's Edict of Toleration, the Fathers of the Church condemned the use of force in the domain of conscience. "Force and violence are useless," wrote Lactantius, "for religion cannot be forced."[2] But when

[1] *Contin. Zwetlensis*, an. 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix.

[2] "Non est opus vi et injuria, quia religio cogi non potest." *Divin. Instit.*, v. 20, ap. Vacandard, p. 7.

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the emperors, become Christian, began to declare themselves "bishops in externals," and to proclaim that it was their first duty to guard the true religion,[1] and when there sprang up such anti-Christian and anti-social sects as those of the Manichæans and Priscillianists, they made laws against heretics involving exile, confiscation, or even death.[2] But, though in view of the violent conduct of the Circumcelliones[3] even St. Augustine was led to approve of a moderate severity against heretics, still he and the great Fathers of the Church generally were opposed to the infliction of the death penalty.[4] From this teaching it resulted that from the sixth to the beginning of the eleventh century, *i.e.*, during the early Middle Ages, there was hardly any persecution of heretics, except from time to time of such as were regarded as Manichæans.

But, as we have seen, in the eleventh century teachers holding Manichæan opinions came from Eastern Europe, and caused a brisk revival in the West of their pestilential doctrines. The new sectaries were at once persecuted; but for a century and a half the persecution was of a

[1] Theodosii II., *Novellæ*, tit. iii. (438), *ib.*, p. 8. "Since Constantine," writes Boyd (*The Eccles. Edicts of the Theodosian Code*, p. 34, New York, 1905), "desired that the Church should contribute to the social and moral strength of the Empire, religious dissension was a menace to the public welfare, and, if necessary, secular authority might be exercised for its suppression." He refers to *Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 2, 3, 6.

[2] Boyd (*ib.*, p. 54 ff.) gives the decrees of Diocletian, Valentinian I., and Theodosius against the Manichæans. "Valentinian the Younger forbade their residence in all parts of the Roman world, especially at Rome, under penalty of death. *Cod. Theod.*, xvi. 5, 7, 18." Justinian decreed death to every Manichæan. *Cod.*, lib. i. tit. v., ll. 11 and 12.

[3] Boyd describes them as "a mendicant, socialist sect . . . who tortured the Catholics, defiled churches, and forced the laity to accept Donatist baptism." *Ib.* p. 55.

[4] See especially on this Vacandard's chap. ii., where he gives an adverse criticism of Lea's *résumé* of the Church's attitude towards the legislation of the Christian emperors against heresy.

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desultory nature, and was rather the outcome of popular outbreaks than the result of definite ecclesiastical or civil legislation or administration.[1] In fact, during that period what little persecution took place was inflicted rather in opposition to the Church than with its permission. It was the period during which "lynch law" seemed sufficient to ensure public morality.[2]

From the year 1150 to 1250, however, the case was very different. The struggle between the Church and the Empire which was then so keen brought about a lowered tone in the spiritual life and relaxed ecclesiastical watchfulness over the sheep of Christ.[3] The wolves became much more numerous and bolder, and both Church and State seemed to think that violence was the readiest way to drive them off. The legislation of Alexander III. and Lucius III. shows the Church calling in the aid of the secular arm,[4] though not sanctioning the imposition of the death penalty. But, once called in, the secular authority

[1] *Cf.* Havet, *L'hérésie et le bras séculier*, p. 490 ff., ap. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 1880.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 506–8.

[3] See in the first canon of the council of Avignon, 1209, the severe denunciation of the neglect of the bishops to provide the food of the Gospel for their flocks, and to punish heretics according to the regulations both of the canon and of the civil law: "ut eos puniant secundum canonicas et legitimas sanctiones." Can. 1, n. 2, ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, xi.

[4] Alexander III. in the Lateran council of 1179 (c. 27, ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, x. 1523) demands "ut tantis cladibus se (secular princes) viriliter opponant et contra eos (the mercenaries known as Brabançons) armis populum Christianum tueantur." This portion of canon 27 is often quoted as though it were directed against heretics, like the first portion of the canon, but it is aimed at the savage conduct of mercenary soldiers. The council of Montpellier (1195) classes *the heretics* (*i.e.*, the Cathari) with the mercenaries, with pirates, and with such as supply the Saracens with arms. It orders that the goods of such "pestilential men" be confiscated, and that they be "servituti subdantur," *i.e.*, imprisoned.

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soon got beyond the control of the Church. Finding that the persecution of heretics could be used for State purposes, Frederick II. decreed that obstinate heretics should be put to death. Like his famous namesake the first Frederick, Frederick II. was greatly influenced by the revived study of the ancient imperial legislation, and at this period canon law and civil law were exerting very considerable influence on each other. And in this case canon law followed the civil law. Gregory IX. placed the Inquisition in the hands of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and sanctioned the enforcing of the law of Frederick II. Innocent IV. followed in his wake, and, by allowing the use of torture in the examination of heretics, brought the canon law affecting heretics into line with the ordinary procedure of the civil law in dealing with criminals.

It was then "during the thirteenth century that there were established throughout Christendom laws or customs by which heretics were condemned to the flames, and that the pain of fire became everywhere the legal punishment for heresy." [1]

It is no doubt very sad to have to chronicle this rapidly increasing severity against heretics; but at the same time it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the heretics against whom this fierce persecution was directed were not speculative seekers after truth like Peter Abelard, but, for the most part, active disturbers of public order or morality.[2] On this point we have the unexceptional testimony of H. C. Lea. "However much," he writes, "we may deprecate the means used for the suppression (of Catharism), and commiserate those who suffered for conscience' sake, we

[1] Havet, *l.c.*, p. 607.

[2] *Cf.* Guiraud, *La répression de l'hérésie au Moyen Age*, ap. his *Quest. histor.*, Paris, 1906. *Cf.* his succeeding articles: *La morale des Albigeois*, and *Le Consolamentum ou Initiation Cathare.*

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cannot but admit that the cause of orthodoxy was in this case the cause of progress and civilisation. Had Catharism[1] become dominant, or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous. Its asceticism with regard to commerce between the sexes, if strictly enforced, could only have led to the extinction of the race. . . . Its condemnation of the visible universe, and of matter in general as the work of Satan, rendered sinful all striving after material improvement, and the conscientious belief in such a creed could only lead man back, in time, to his original condition of savagism. It was not only a revolt against the Church, but a renunciation of man's dominion over nature."[2]

Whether or not the Popes of this age could have coped with these anti-social sects[3] in any other way than by coercion is perhaps doubtful.[4] At any rate it is certain

[1] By far the largest extant record of legal proceedings instituted at this period on account of heresy is the so-called *Book of Sentences* (*Lib. Sententiarum*), published by Limborch in 1693. Now Maitland, *Albigenses*, p. 216 ff., has analysed this formidable document of over 400 closely printed folio pages, and from his analysis it appears that out of 607 cases, 495 concerned persons "who were obviously popularly called Albigenses" (Cathari). Moreover, out of the small number of 40 who, as relapsed heretics, were delivered over to the secular arm, 29 were Albigenses. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the fatal doctrines of the Cathari were primarily responsible for the religious persecution of this age.

[2] *A Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, i. p. 106.

[3] "In the Middle Ages," writes Guiraud (*l.c.*, p. 44), "heresy was nearly always linked with anti-social systems. And in an age when thought generally expressed itself in a theological form, socialistic, communistic, and anarchical doctrines were spoken of as heresies. Hence, by the nature of things, the cause of the Church and that of society were strictly united, not to say confounded. In this fact we have the explanation of the repression of heresy in the Middle Ages."

[4] "Sans aller jusqu'à trouver excellentes toutes les armes employées contre leurs propagateurs (the Cathari), on doit reconnaitre que les deux sociétés ne pouvaient guère, en ces temps et dans ces circon-

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that the method of forcible repression commended itself to the most enlightened men of the age, and that in the matter of decreeing the more terrible punishments against heretics the State led the way.[1]

Attempt of Frederick to have his son crowned emperor, 1185.

After the assembly of Verona was dismissed, and the Pope and the emperor had parted, envoys were constantly passing between them. The young King Henry VI. was the cause of many of these embassies. On the one hand, his disorderly and arbitrary conduct caused complaints about him to be brought before his father and before the Pope.[2] On the other hand, Frederick, blind to his son's serious faults and only anxious to fix the imperial line in his own family, begged the Pope to crown him emperor. Acting, however, on the advice not only of the cardinals, but also on that of some of the princes of the Empire who were anxious to preserve their liberties, Lucius finally declared that there could not be two emperors reigning together, and that, if the son were to be invested with the insignia of

stances, s'empêcher d'user de rigueur à l'endroit de tels adversaires de la religion et de l'ordre social. Aujourd'hui encore, tout homme sensé jugerait dignes de réprobation une doctrine, une morale qui conduiraient à l'indifférence de l'esprit à l'égard de toute vérité, à l'émancipation totale de la liberté à l'endroit de toute contrainte, à la predominance de la chair et de ses appétits sur la raison. C'était à quoi aboutissait le catharisme." Such is the conclusion of Vidal to a series of excellent articles in the *Revue des Quest. histor.*: I. "Les derniers ministres de l'Albigeisme en Languedoc, Leurs Doctrines." January 1906, p. 57 ff.; II. "Doctrine et Morale des derniers ministres Albigeois." April 1909, p. 357 ff., July, p. 5 ff.

[1] "Pour l'Italie . . . la peine de feu pour crime d'hérésie n'y a été introduite que par des constitutions de l'empereur Frédéric II., rendues de 1224 à 1239. En Allemagne . . . les constitutions de cet empereur ont les premières, par une disposition formelle, transformé cet usage (of burning heretics) en loi écrite de l'empire." Havet, *L'hérésie et le bras séculier au moyen âge*, p. 489, ap. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, xli. (1880).

[2] "Filius imperatoris insolenter agere et res alienas diripere cœpit, unde crebra querimonia ad patrem et demun ad apostolicum delata est." *Chron. reg. Colon.*, 1185.

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The Tomb of Pope Lucius III. at Verona.

(From *La Tomba di Lucio III. in Verona*, by Mgr. Fenzi.)

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Empire, it would be necessary for the father to lay them down.[1]

Death of Lucius III., 1185.

Further negotiations between Frederick and Lucius were closed by the death at Verona of the aged pontiff on November 25.[2] His body was interred in a marble sarcophagus before the high altar of the cathedral,[3] and on his tomb was inscribed the date of his death and an epitaph which set forth that Lucca had given him birth, Ostia the pontificate, Rome the Papacy, and Verona death; or that rather, in truer language, it was Verona which had given him his true birth, Ostia anxieties, Rome exile, and Lucca death.

"Ob. sanctissimus Pater D. D. Lucius III
MCLXXXV, die XXV Novebs.
Lucca dedit lucem tibi, Luci; pontificatum
Ostia; Papatum Roma; Verona mori.
Immo Verona dedit lucis tibi gaudia; Roma
Exilium; curas Ostia; Lucca mori."[4]

Discovery of the original tombstone, 1879.

When the cathedral was restored by Bishop Gilberti (1524–1543), he placed the body of the Pope beneath the

[1] *Ib.* *Cf.* Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, iii. 11 and 17, and *Ann. Stadenses*, 1184, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

[2] *Ann. Veron.*, 1185, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. p. 5; *Necrologium Veronense*, ap. Watterich, ii. 662.

[3] Sigebert. *Chron. Contin. Aquicinct.*, 1185.

[4] Ap. Watterich, *ib.*, or *L. P.*, ii. 451. More exactly ap. Jozzi, from the actual sepulchral stone, of which we give a copy. "A certain William, a German by birth, one of the sculptors who worked at the splendid Duomo of Modena, was the carver of the said stone." Jozzi, p. 7. Duchesne, *l.c.*, while disposed to believe that the epitaph was not original but was simply a *jeu d'esprit* of a Renaissance poet, expressed his definite conviction that the initial lines giving the date could not be contemporary. The discovery of the original slab (bearing the said date and epitaph), which is narrated in the text, shows how unreliable are the *conjectures* of even the most critical historians. In his *Additions*, *ib.*, p. 569, the Monsignor noted that he had found that his distrust of the epitaph (at least as far as the first two verses were concerned) was not well grounded, as he had discovered them in the twelfth-century catalogue of Zwettl, ap. Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdot.*, i. 392.

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pavement in the middle of the sanctuary. A slab of red Veronese marble recorded the fact that it covered the bones of Pope Lucius, to whom Verona, where he died, had given shelter when he had been driven from Rome.[1] Beneath that slab the remains of Lucius III. would probably have remained unseen till to-day, but for a great storm (February 25, 1879), which, in blowing down part of the apse of the cathedral, hurled a large fragment of stone on to the tomb of the Pope, and smashed to atoms the slab of Bishop Gilberti. When the debris was removed, the original tombstone, also of red Veronese marble, and partially broken, and showing the figure of Pope Lucius in high relief, was, to the profound astonishment of all present, brought to light. Though the actual tomb of the Pope was left undisturbed, and was re-covered with a fresh marble slab, the original tombstone was carefully built into the wall of the cathedral beneath the window of the altar of St. Agatha, where it may still be seen.[2]

Character of Lucius in panegyric and in pasquinade.

The funeral oration over the body of Pope Lucius was preached by the Pisan cardinal Pandulf Mosca. After calling on the assembled multitude once again to kiss the feet of the Pope, before the earth should cover his sweet face, the cardinal speaks of the deceased pontiff as his father and faithful friend and adviser, and as the meek and lowly pastor whose loss the Church justly mourns. He was the father of the poor, continued the preacher, and he daily fed them with his own hands; and, from the trials

[1] Ossa Lucii III. Pont. Max. "Cui Roma ob invidiam pulso, Verona tutissimum ac gratissimum perfugium fuit; ubi, conventu Christianorum acto, dum præclara multa molitur, e vita excessit." Ap. Jozzi, p. 4.

[2] An accompanying inscription tells of its being fractured by the storm, and of its subsequent translation. "Lapis causu fractus die xxv February MDCCCLXXIX, ab arca sub choro jacente, huc ne periret infixus." *Ib.* p. 8.

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and troubles to which he was daily exposed, he was a true martyr, and if he was not actually handed over to the beasts, still, by the insults and injuries heaped upon him, he became the outcast of this world.[1]

Among the insults cast upon the Pope was the following pasquinade, composed no doubt in Rome. At any rate, the version here given is taken from a Roman chronicle of the time:—[2]

"Lucius est piscis, rex et dominator aquarum,
A quo differt Lucius iste parum.
Devorat hic homines, hic piscibus insidiatur,
Esurit hic semper, hic aliquando satur.
Amborum merita, si quis equa lance libraret
Plus rationis habet quod ratione caret."

The *lucius* (the pike) is the tyrant of the waters, from which our Lucius differs but little. The latter devours men, the former lies in wait for fish; but the man is ever hungry, whereas the fish is sometimes sated. If the two be fairly weighed, it will be found that the one that naturally lacks reason has the greater share of it.

England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Our biography of Lucius III. will be brought to a close by a few words concerning that pontiff's relations to the British Isles. Although Pope Lucius did not, generally speaking, show himself too much disposed to listen to the innumerable requests of King Henry,[3] he could not refuse to work in his behalf when his unnatural sons rebelled against him (1183). He accordingly issued a bull to the

The Pope helps Henry against his rebellious sons, 1183.

[1] Ap. *ib.*, p. 10.

[2] *Cron. S. Bartholo. in insula Rom.*, an. 1181, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi. p. 219. The lampoon is found with slight variations in many other chronicles of the age.

[3] "Rex Angliæ misit nuncios suos ad Urbanum Papam, et *multa* ab eo impetravit, quibus P. Lucius fortiter resistebat." *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), an. 1185, R. S., i. p. 339.

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effect that whoever disturbed the peace of the king should be excommunicated without appeal.[1] On the strength of this pronouncement, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and a number of English and Norman bishops assembled at Caen, and declared all such excommunicated as should prevent peace between the king and his sons (May 26).[2] But, showing himself a true father, when the unfortunate young rebellious king died in the midst of his revolt (June 11, 1183), the Pope did not forget his helpless widow (Margaret). He implored Henry so to provide for her and hers "as not to leave them any excuse for complaining, and so as not to have himself to fear a severe sentence from the Father of the orphan and the Judge of widows."[3]

Baldwin, the successor of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 1184.

On the death of Archbishop Richard (February 1184), the Pope wrote "to the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, and to the Prior and monks of the same church," bidding them, "all things to the contrary notwithstanding," to elect a successor to the deceased prelate within two months after the receipt of his letter.[4] But the divergent views of the bishops and of the monks of Christchurch as to their respective rights in the election of an archbishop of Canterbury not merely caused the Pope's injunctions to be disobeyed, but nearly brought about a schism. The monks contended that they had a right to the first voice in the election, and produced a charter of the king himself confirming freedom of election to them. The bishops, however, maintained that such a charter was illegal and injurious to the Church of England, as the choice of their metropolitan belonged to them. After much disputing

[1] Ep. 69 of Peter of Blois, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 216.

[2] "Hac auctoritate fretus d. Cantuariensis omnes d. regis impugnatores excommunicavit." *Ib.* *Cf.* Roger de H., an. 1183, R. S., ii. 278.

[3] Ep. ap. Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1184, R. S., ii. 31, or ep. 181.

[4] Ep. ap. Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1184, R. S., ii. p. 22.

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between the contending parties, Henry summoned the bishops and monks to meet in council at London to elect an archbishop (December). In this assembly matters were brought to a head by Gilbert Foliot, who, declaring that ancient custom gave the first voice in the election to the bishop of London, proposed the holy and learned Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, as the new archbishop. The bishops accepted his nomination, and the king and his sons followed their example.

In writing "to their Father and supreme Pontiff Lucius," to inform him of what they had done in accordance with his urgent order (*propter vestræ jussionis urgentiam*), and to beg him confirm their action, the bishops assured the Pope that the monks not only raised no objection to their nominee, but even loudly praised him.[1] But whatever the monks did or did not do at the joint assembly in London, it was not long before they declared that they appealed to the Pope, and before they elected as archbishop Theobald, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who had formerly been abbot of Cluny and was very friendly to them.[2] Henry, however, followed the angry monks to Canterbury, and persuaded them to elect Baldwin themselves. This they did, and, singing the *Te Deum*, they presented the bishop of Worcester to the king as their candidate, and wrote to ask the Pope to confirm their choice.[3] The archbishop-elect also at once sent envoys to Lucius to inform him of

[1] Ep. ap. Diceto, *l.c.*, p. 23.

[2] "Prior vero et monachi Cantuariæ assensum præbere noluerunt electioni episcoporum; sed ad d. papam se appellasse dixerunt, et elegisse sibi et ecclesiæ pastorem episcopum de Oist." *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), an. 1184, i. p. 319 f., R. S. *Cf.* Roger de H., an. 1184, ii. p. 287, R. S.

[3] "Vestræ paternitati . . . supplicamus, quatinus, juxta desiderium . . . totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ipsius electionem confirmare velitis, ut . . . de manu vestræ suscipiat plenetudinem potestatis." Diceto, *l.c.*, p. 24.

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his election, and to beg the pallium. This was readily granted by Lucius, and on May 19, 1185, Baldwin was installed in his cathedral "with the greatest honour."[1]

Ireland. Archbishop John Comyn.

Henry's interference with the election of the archbishop of Dublin was much more direct than in that of the archbishop of Canterbury. On the death of St. Lawrence O'Toole (1180), the English king resolved to replace him by a Norman, and to secure that the Norman archbishop should be independent of Armagh. Ten months after the saint's death the Dublin chapter was summoned to meet at Evesham in Worcestershire, and there, through Henry's influence, elected his quondam agent the deacon John Comyn, the man who in the course of the Becket controversy was accused of betraying the affairs of Pope Alexander III. to the antipope.[2] He was consecrated bishop by Lucius himself on Palm Sunday (March 21, 1182).[3]

In the *Register* (or *Liber Niger Alani*) of Archbishop Alan of Dublin (1529–34)[4] there is preserved a privilege of Pope Lucius "confirming the archbishop in his possession of the see of Dublin . . ." (April 13, 1182). "It placed certain restrictions on the Celtic monks, who seem to have been asserting daring claims as to their exemption from episcopal supervision, and concluded by prohibiting the old Celtic abuse, which flourished not only in Ireland but also in Wales, of the hereditary possession of benefices, handed down as of right from father to son." It subjected to the

[1] *Gesta*, an. 1185, *ib.*, p. 338. *Cf.* ep. Luci. 213, or ap. Diceto, *l.c.*, p. 36.

[2] Ep. Alex., 451, ap. *P. L.*, t. 200, p. 455.

[3] *Gesta Hen.*, an. 1182, R. S., i. 287. *Cf.* Giraldus Camb., *Expug. Hib.*, ii. 23.

[4] The original register, drawn up in 1530, is still in existence, and is in the possession of the Protestant archbishop of Dublin. It has apparently not yet been printed, but it has been fully analysed in the Irish Record Commissioners' *Report*, A.D. 1810–15. *Cf.* Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 26 n., and 179 n.

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metropolitical jurisdiction of Dublin the dioceses of "Wexford or Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, Kildare, and the diocese of the Isles," or Glendalough; and, by the following clause, originated between Dublin and Armagh the same controversies that we have seen in such vigour between York and Canterbury.[1] "By virtue of the holy canons, no prelate was to presume to hold synods or exercise any kind of jurisdiction within the province of the archbishop of Dublin, unless he were the bishop of the province or some person enjoined to do so by the Roman pontiff."[2]

Scotland. The bishopric of St. Andrews.

On the death of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, in 1178, the Chapter, without consulting the king, elected as his successor John Scot, the nephew of Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen.[3] William the Lion, however, angry at being thus slighted, swore "by the arm of St. James" that John should never rule the see of St. Andrews, and caused his chaplain Hugh to be consecrated bishop and put in possession of the see in spite of John's appeal to Rome.[4]

[1] Brenan, however (*Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 251 f.), dates the rise of the controversy from the more ample bull of Honorius III., which in 1221 (December 8) confirmed the bull of Lucius. *Cf.* Potthast, *Regest.*, 6732.

[2] As this privilege is not given by Migne or Jaffé, we have taken our account of it from Stokes, *l.c.*, p. 209 ff. It is printed ap. *Charta, privilegia, etc.*, published by the Irish Record Office, p. 3, London, 1889. *Cf. ib.*, pp. 4, 5, 8, for similar privileges of Urban III., Clement III., and Celestine III. *Cf. ib.*, p. 10, for the action of Matthew, archbishop of Cashel, the papal legate ("auctoritate legacionis qua fungimur"). Bulls of many other Popes, as far down as Boniface IX. (June 4, 1394, p. 90), may be found in the said work on the same subject of the confirmation of the privileges of the see of Dublin. *Cf.* Malone, *A Church Hist. of Ireland*, p. 224; D'Alton, *Hist. of Ireland*, i. 266–7.

[3] Roger of H., an. 1180, R. S., ii. 208. The documents relating to this affair will be found in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 251 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, vi. c. 35 f. "Following in this respect the enormous abuses of Norman tyranny in England," adds Giraldus Cambrensis, *De instruc. princip.*, i. 13.

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Thereupon Alexander III. sent a legate, Alexius,[1] to examine into the affair. After careful inquiry the legate confirmed the election of John, and, "with the permission of the king, through the advice of the bishops of his kingdom," caused him to be consecrated (June 1180).[2] But, whether from instability of purpose, or because, from want of tact, Alexius "provoked to anger the heart of the king,"[3] William promptly repented of any assent he had given to John's consecration, and commanded him to leave the kingdom. Pope Alexander himself now took up the cause of Bishop John, and, addressing a letter to the Scotch hierarchy, commanded them, "under peril of their orders and benefices, to put on the spirit of fortitude, . . . to restore John to his see, to labour prudently and manfully for the upholding of the rights of the Church, and to endeavour to soothe the irritation of the king." But, if he will not be pacified, "they must obey God and the holy Roman Church rather than man."[4] At the same time he wrote to the king himself reminding him of the efforts he had made for his peace and freedom, bidding him recognise Bishop John, and notifying him that, in the event of his refusal to do so, he had commissioned Roger, archbishop of York, his legate in Scotland, to excommunicate him and to lay his kingdom under an interdict. "Know, moreover," concluded the Pope, "that, if you persist in your violent measures, we who formerly laboured in order that your

[1] Then a subdeacon, afterwards in 1188 cardinal-priest of St. Susanna.

[2] Roger, *l.c.*, p. 209.

[3] *Chron. of Melrose*, an. 1180. From the language of this chronicle it would appear that the king's change of mind was due to the high-handed, tactless conduct of the legate; but Pope Alexander declared that "he had been informed by many" that Alexius had proceeded prudently and canonically, and had deferred frequently to the king's majesty. Ep. to the bishops of Scotland, ap. Roger, *l.c.*, pp. 209–10.

[4] *Ib.*, or ep. Alex., 1169, ap. *P. L.*, t. 200. *Cf.* epp. 1170–1.

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realm might enjoy the blessings of liberty, will in the future toil that it may be reduced to its former servitude."[1]

But the king of the Scots would not cast away the cloak of his resolve either by reason of the sunshine of flattery or because of the angry winds of threats. He expelled John and his uncle Matthew from his dominions, and from York there fell excommunication upon him and interdict on his kingdom.[2]

Lucius absolves William the Lion, 1182.

In the midst of negotiations reopened through the mediation of Henry II. of England, Pope Alexander and Archbishop Roger both died, and William at once sent an important embassy to lay his case before the new Pope Lucius.[3] The Scottish envoys were completely successful in their mission. Not only were the excommunication and interdict removed, and the Scottish bishops commanded to treat William "as a Catholic king in communion with the Apostolic See" (1182),[4] but his returning envoys brought with them for their master the Golden Rose.[5]

Temporary settlement between bishops John and Hugh.

During the course of the same year (1182), Lucius sent legates, Roland, bishop-elect of Dol, and Silvanus, abbot of Rievaulx, to bring about an understanding between the two candidates for the see of St. Andrews. They proposed, with the consent of the king and bishop, John Scot, that Hugh should resign the see of St. Andrews, and that John should accept that of Dunkeld along with the chancellorship. In this, however, Hugh would not agree, but in his turn appealed to Rome; for he knew that the king was with him all the time.[6]

[1] Ep. 1171, or ap. Roger, pp. 211–12.

[2] Roger, pp. 212, 263–4.

[3] Roger, p. 264. "Audito itaque quod Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus esset defunctus, Willelmus rex Scotiæ gavisus est gaudio magno!"

[4] Ep. of Lucius to the prelates of Scotland, ap. Roger, pp. 268–9.

[5] *Chron. de Mailros*, an. 1182.

[6] Roger, *l.c.*, pp. 270–2.

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Appeal had been made to Rome, and so to Rome the two disputants went. Acting on the advice of the cardinals, Lucius caused the two claimants to resign the bishopric of St. Andrews into his hands, and then assigned it to Hugh, allotting to John the bishopric of Dunkeld and the other posts and revenues which had been offered him by King William (*c.* June 1183).[1] Even so the affair was not settled. As the king would not fulfil all his promises to John, the latter revived his claims to the see of St. Andrews, and appealed to Urban III., the successor of Lucius. Both bishops appeared before the Pope, who was so far influenced by John's pleading that he gave him power, whilst Hugh was collecting further evidence, to rule the diocese of St. Andrews in the meantime.[2] Hugh was ordered, when he had prepared his case, to return to Rome along with John, and the bishop of Glasgow and others were ordered to excommunicate him if he failed. At the appointed time John obeyed the Pope's directions, and appeared in Rome; but Hugh failed to do so, and was therefore excommunicated "in accordance with the tenour of the apostolic mandate."[3]

[1] Roger, *ib.*, pp. 281–2.

[2] See Urban's letter to King William, ap. *ib.* p. 311. "De consilio fratrum nostrorum, prædicto Dunkeldensi episcopo agendi licentiam super episcopatum S. Andreæ tribuimus contra illum, et eidem S. Andreæ episcopo ad propria revertendi, ad nostram præsentiam sufficienter instructo in constituto sibi termino redituro." This letter of Urban III. is a beautiful one in every way. It is dignified yet conciliatory, and, while appealing to the highest motives, most practical, as the following passages show: "Know also that by the obedience which they owe us we have commanded the aforesaid bishops not to draw anything from the churches or clergy subject to them in order to meet the expenses of their appeals. They must meet them from their own revenues. . . . Moreover, we wish your Highness to know that the bishop of Dunkeld has conducted his case with such deference to your royal dignity as not to put forward any proposition which might be detrimental to it."

[3] *Ib.*, p. 314.

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When John returned to Scotland, he did so with a letter from Clement III., as Urban III. had died in the meantime. The letter, which was addressed to Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, to Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and others, declared that for his contumaciousness Hugh was to be for ever deprived of the bishopric of St. Andrews, and suspended from his episcopal functions at the pleasure of the Apostolic See. The said bishops were, moreover, to cause the chapter to elect a new bishop for the vacant see, and to induce them, if possible, to choose John of Dunkeld.[1] Another letter begged the Scottish king to receive John kindly, as the Roman Church had really been compelled to punish Hugh, in whose behalf, out of deference to the king, the Holy See, "not without the censure of many," had done much (1188).[2]

At the same time he despatched two stronger letters to Scotland, no doubt only to be used if the others failed in their effect. The first was addressed to the chapter of St. Andrews, and contemplated the possibility of its not electing John. The document declared that any other election would be null and void, and that they must accept John as their bishop.[3] The second was addressed to Jocelin of Glasgow and other bishops and abbots, and, in view of the possibility of William's not listening to the papal exhortations, instructed them to excommunicate him once more, and to lay the kingdom under an interdict.[4]

[1] Ap. Roger of H., ii. 347.

[2] *Ib.*, 348. At the same time Clement wrote to Henry II. (*ib.*, p. 349) urging him to use his influence to induce, or, if necessary, his power as William's suzerain to compel the Scottish king to cease his opposition to John.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 350.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 351. "Quod si monitis apostolicis . . . duxerit resistendum, in regnum suæ celsitudinis, et personam suam, et omnes fautores regios nuncietis interdicti sententiam infra viginti dies, sine appellationis obstaculo, auctoritate apostolica a vobis promulgandam."

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The close of this tedious affair shall be given in the exact words of Roger of Hoveden, who is our chief authority for it:—[1] "When the king of the Scots heard this, being prevailed upon by the advice of his counsellors, he received the before-named John into his favour, and allowed him peaceably to hold the bishopric of *Dunkeld*, and all the revenues which he had before his consecration, on condition, however, that he should refrain from aspiring to the bishopric of St. Andrews. Accordingly, although he was fortified in his claim by the aforesaid letters of the lord Pope, he submitted to the will of the king . . . knowing that: 'Better is a dry morsel with joy, than a house full of victims and strife' (Prov. xvii. 1).

"Hugh, however, who was formerly styled bishop of St. Andrews, on being degraded and anathematised, went to Rome, and, after giving security (*cautio*) that he would abide by the decision of the Church, was absolved by Pope Clement (*c.* August 1188). But he survived his absolution only a few days; for in the month of August there was such a pestilence in Rome and in its territories, that many cardinals and men of the more wealthy classes died, and a countless number of the common people, along with Hugh and nearly all his household (August 4).

"On this the king of Scotland gave the bishopric of St. Andrews to Roger, son of Robert, Earl of Leicester . . . in the presence of John of Dunkeld, who raised no objections."[2]

Other acts of Lucius III.

Should the earnest or curious reader wish to know how Lucius, during his short pontificate, dealt with Sardinia, "which belonged to the Roman Church," granting spiritual jurisdiction over it to the archbishop of Pisa,[3] and with Sweden;[4] how he worked to stop wars;[5] how he authorised

[1] Roger, *ib.*, p. 353. [2] *Ib.*, p. 353. [3] Jaffé, 14,514 and 14,921.
[4] Ep. 12. [5] Jaffé, 14,508.

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the building of a hospice at Besançon where pilgrims going to Rome or Jerusalem might be entertained;[1] how he was hampered in his efforts to administer justice by forged papal documents;[2] how he invoked the *rectors* of the Lombard League to prevent the consuls of Lodi and other places from oppressing churches;[3] and how he also was in communication with the emperor of Constantinople[4]—if he would know all this, let him consult for himself the references we have given below.

[1] Ep. ap. Loenfeld, p. 209. "Grata subsidia recipiant caritatis."
[2] Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 214. [3] Jaffé, 14,801.
[4] *Ib.*, 14,712. This letter reveals to us the name of a Latin who was employed by the Byzantine court to interpret letters from the West. For the relations of Lucius III. with Armenia, see Jaffé, 15,340, and *infra* in the *Life* of Clement III.

Leaden Bulla of Lucius III.

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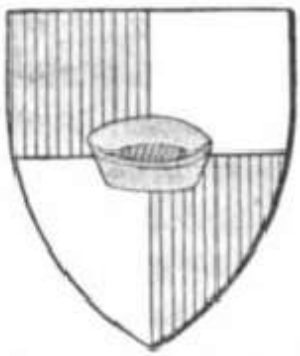

Quarterly gules and argent, in centre point a sieve in profile or.

URBAN III.

A.D. 1185–1187.

Sources.—As an authority for the *Life*[1] of Urban we may cite the *Flores Cronicorum seu Catalogus pont. Rom.* of Bernard Guido, or better Guidonis, as the genitive form of the name is the more common one;[1] for, although in the present instance the *Catalogus* is of little importance,[2] we have already had occasion to cite its author, and his name is historically of considerable consequence. This distinguished Limousin historian was born in 1260, became a Dominican in 1280, and, whilst prior at Carcassonne (1297–1301), entertained the ninth General of the Dominicans, Nicholas Bocasini, afterwards Pope Benedict XI. A few years later, when he was prior of the monastery of Limoges, he received Clement V. (1386). In the following year he became Inquisitor of Toulouse (1307–1323), and was, moreover, for four years procurator-general of the Dominican order at the papal court at Avignon. During that period John XXII. sent him on several most important embassies, and, in order to reward his merits, made him bishop of Puy in Galicia, and then (1324)

[1] Of the French forms Arbellot has proved that, as B. G. was a Limousin, "Guyon" is more correct than "Gui." *Cf. Etude sur B. Guidonis*, p. 2 ff., Paris, 1896. In our account of Bernard we simply follow Arbellot, whose study rests largely on that of the late L. Delisle, *Notice sur les man. de B. Gui*, in *Notices et extraits*, xxvii. 2, 169–455.

[2] It is taken up almost entirely with Joachim of Flora and the fall of Jerusalem.

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bishop of Lodève in the province of Narbonne. It will be seen that the circumstances of his career made Bernard well fitted to become an historian of the Popes; and, as a matter of fact, despite the demands which his official duties made upon his time, he became an indefatigable and voluminous historian of no mean merit. Bernard died December 30, 1331. Besides books on various branches of ecclesiastical science, on the lives of the saints and on local history, he wrote about the Popes, the emperors, and the kings of France. As far as this work is concerned, his most important productions are the above-mentioned *Catalogus* and a *Catalogus brevis*. The *Catalogus*, which is a universal chronicle beginning with our Lord, was begun by Guidonis in 1311, and was brought down by him to different years in the pontificates of Clement V. (1305–1316) or of John XXII. (1316–1334), according to the different editions of it which he published. The first part of the *Catalogus*, to St. Gregory VII. inclusive, has been published imperfectly by Cardinal Mai (*Spicileg. Romanum*, vi., Rome, 1841); and the second part, to John XXII. (1321), by Muratori, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i. The latter portions of the *Catalogus* have been also published by Baluze, *Vitæ Papar. Avenion.*, t. i., and by de Wailly, ap. *R. I. SS.*, t. xxi.

The *Catalogus brevis*, or abridged chronicle of the Popes, was originally a kind of appendix to the *Catalogus*; but about the year 1329 Bernard recast this chronicle, and published it under the name of *Catalogus brevis per modum Chronicorum de Rom. pont. a b. Petro usque ad d. Johannem P. XXII.* Of this *Catalogus* the latter portions have been published as biographies of Clement V. and John XXII. by Baluze (*l.c.*) and Muratori, *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. ii. If Bernard was to a very large extent merely a compiler, he was not only a lover of truth, but, for the age in which he lived, a critical inquirer after it.

The authorities for the *Life* of St. Thomas Becket, already described, furnish us with some particulars of the early career of Urban.

To the collection of his letters, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, add three in the *English Hist. Rev.*, ix. (1894), p. 536 ff.

Contemporary Sovereigns.—See under Alexander III. and Lucius III.

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Succession of Urban III.

IN the course of the weeks immediately following January 25, 1186, the prelates of the Christian world received the following letter:[1]—"Urban bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and to his beloved sons the abbots, priors, and other prelates of churches who shall receive these letters, health and the apostolic benediction.

"The high counsels of heaven have founded on a rock that most holy Roman Church which we, though unfit, have been called upon to rule. . . . Wherefore our universal Mother, the Church, so keeps with her the everlasting Saviour that, despite all changes of times and circumstances, she can never leave the path of the one faith and love.[2] By the frequent changes of her rulers, or by the malice of the world, the Church may suffer much, but God never abandons her. . . . Hence though a few short days ago . . . she was troubled by the death of our holy father Lucius, Divine Providence has preserved her in the bonds of peace, so that after the sadness of the evening comes the joy of the morning, and like a beauteous dove rejoicing in her sighs she has kept her snowy whiteness without spot or stain.

"After the death and burial of our predecessor Lucius of happy memory, the brethren met to discuss the election of a successor, and such a unanimous feeling manifested itself among them that it must be thought to have been brought about by Him in whose hands are the hearts of men. At any rate they made choice of us, and though

[1] We give a slightly abridged translation of the document as it appears ap. Roger de Hov., an. 1186, R. S., ii. 305 f., or ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, ep. 12.

[2] "Unde universalis mater ecclesia usque ad consummationem sæculi manentem secum retinens Salvatorem, ita . . . ut pro nulla rerum varietate vel temporum, ab unitate suæ fidei, vel pietatis proposito separetur."

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unworthy we accepted the burden they laid upon us, lest delay might bring trouble upon the Church."

The letter concluded by asking for prayers for Pope Lucius, and for loyal devotion to his successor, in virtue of the love and respect entertained by all for the Apostolic See. "Given at Verona on the second of the Ides of January (January 12)."

The early life of Urban.

The hearing of this beautiful letter read in their churches would probably be the first indication received by many that the see of Peter was then occupied by the Lombard Humbert or Hubert Crivelli of Milan.[1] Humbert's family was evidently well supplied with the goods of this world,[2] and, as we first meet with him as archdeacon of Bourges, we may perchance conjecture that he went to complete

[1] Humbert's family name has been preserved for us by the Dominican historian Francesco Pipino of Bologna, who some time after the year 1320 wrote a universal chronicle, of which the more useful portion, from the year 1176–1314, has been published by Muratori. *Cf.* for references *re* Humbert, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. pp. 598, 602, 626.

[2] When Pope we find him endowing prebends attached to a church of St. George, situated on the allodial property of his ancestors. "In ecclesia S. Georgii Brinatensi, 'in alodio suo paterno fundata' partem canonicorum Crescentiacensium collocat, eamque possessionibus ac privilegiis donat." He reserves the right of patronage to his brothers and their heirs, Jaffé, 15,700 (9853), quoting *Bullarium Lateranense*, p. 55, Rome, 1727. Ignorance of the topography of Milan and its district prevents me from throwing any geographical light on this document. I can only say that there is a "pagus Brinate" on the Ticino not very far from Milan. *Cf. Libri tristitiæ* (Sire Raoul), ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1177. Chance has preserved a list of the presents which, in December 1186, Urban presented to the Church of St. Mary in Milan, viz., a chasuble "de coco" (?), and an embroidered mantle for the canons of the church (*toalia cum frixio. Toaglia* is the Italian for a mantle, and the *frixium* or *phrygium* is the same as *limbus*, and means an ornamental border), two copes (*pluvialia*), one red and the other lined with blue (*foderatum*—Italian *foderato*—*de glauco*), an alb with a border (*camisium frixiatum*) preserved in the archbishop's chapel, and various dalmatics and tunics, a silver gilt chalice, and cruets of silver, and a stole and maniple of the very best. *Cf. Notæ S. Mariæ Mediol*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xviii. p. 385, and the editor's notes thereto.

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his studies at Paris. It was when archdeacon of Bourges that he came into personal contact with St. Thomas Becket. He at once conceived a profound admiration for the splendid character of the archbishop, became his devoted friend, and merited to be praised by him to the Pope. The archdeacon, wrote St. Thomas, is "one approved to us in all things, and a partner of our sufferings. . . . One more loyal to your Holiness and the Church . . . could not possibly be found."[1] So closely did he attach himself to our archbishop that the Icelandic Saga of St. Thomas says that he was one of the saint's household, *i.e.*, he was one of the learned circle, one of the *eruditi* whom the archbishop of Canterbury gathered round him. The saint's biographer, Herbert de Bosham, has left us a brief notice of each of these *eruditi*. He reserves the place of honour, viz., the last, for Humbert ("who was exceptionally dear to our lord"), because "he is singularly great and gloriously singular, and also because he was one of the last to be invited to our lord's intimate friendship. . . . He is great both in word and in deed. And as he has advanced from virtue to virtue, so has he mounted the ladder of ecclesiastical fame. Whilst we were still in exile, he was at first archdeacon of Bourges, and then, at the summons of our lord, he joined our circle, and as it were became one of us. Then his distinguished merits caused him to be promoted to the see of Milan, wherein he was born. Thence, in the first or second year of his archbishopric, was he drawn to be the father and patron of all; and to-day, become the chief pastor of the Roman See and the ruler of the whole Church, he is, in fact and in name, Urban (urbane)."[2]

[1] Ep. St. Thos., ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Thos. Beck.*, vi. p. 170, R. S. *Cf.* other letters, ap. *ib.* v. 208; vii. 236, 317.

[2] *Vita S. Thomæ*, vii. 1, ap. *Materials*, iii. pp. 528–9, R. S. Another Englishman, the Cistercian Ralph Niger (†*c.* 1205), calls him "eloquens et tumidus." *Chron. I.*, p. 93, ed. Anstruther.

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To this brief sketch we have a word or two to add from other sources. Whether or not in consequence of the eulogy passed on Humbert by St. Thomas, certain it is that he was made cardinal-priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso about 1183,[1] for we learn from Pope Urban himself that it was in that church that he mounted the first step of the papal throne.[2]

Humbert becomes Pope.

Humbert's promotion was now rapid. He became archbishop of Milan in January 1185,[3] and Pope at Verona by unanimous vote on the very day of the death of Lucius III. (December 25, 1185).[4] The new pontiff took the name of Urban; but it was not long before the imperialists, reviving an old joke, called him "Turbanus," because, as they said, he strove to "perturb the Church to the discredit of the emperor."[5] He was crowned on December 1 in the Church of St. Peter "on the brow of the hill."[6] This is no doubt the old Church of "S. Pietro in Castello," which was the cathedral[7] for some hundreds of years after the Catholics had been expelled from S. Stefano by Theodoric the Arian Goth. After a brief return to the last-named church, the episcopal chair was transferred to the Church of S. Maria

[1] The signature of his predecessor Peter is found up to 1182, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201, p. 1149. Humbert's first occurs in 1183, *ib.*, p. 1175.

[2] "In qua" (the Church of S. Lorenzo) "nostræ suscepimus primordia dignitatis." See Urban's privilege in its behalf, ap. Jaffé, 15,476. As usual in such cases, when he became Pope he did not forget his old titular church. *Cf.* also *ib.*, 15,531.

[3] "Vir multæ litteraturæ, *ex cardinali* in Mediolanensem præsulem nuper assumptus." Rob. of Auxerre, *Chron.*, 1185, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. Robert (†1212, b. 1156-7) was the author of one of the best chronicles of the Middle Ages. It goes down to 1211.

[4] Besides Urban's letter cited above, *cf. Ann. Veronenses*, 1185, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix., and Ralph de Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1185, R. S., ii. p. 39.

[5] Burchard, *Chron. Urspergens.*, 1185. [6] Ralph, *ib.*

[7] The first cathedral was the Church of S. Stefano, and the ancient episcopal seat may still be seen in its apse.

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Matricolare (on the opposite or right bank of the rushing Adige), which was reconsecrated by Urban himself in 1187 and is still the cathedral.

Archbishop Baldwin congratulates the new Pope.

Of the many letters of congratulation which Urban no doubt received on his election, chance has preserved one from Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. "The House of God," began Baldwin, "has ever received from Peter and his successors guidance and security (*formam eruditionis et statum incolumitatis*). And what branches owe to the trunk, members to the head, rays to the sun, streams to the source, this is due to the eminence of the Apostolic See from all the Churches which throughout the world have been founded by the Christian religion." He rejoices that God has set upon the chair of the saints one "who is anxious to be of service, who knows how to rule, and who is distinguished by his prudence and character." He rejoices too in the unanimity of Urban's election, and hopes that God will long preserve him in happiness and the Church in peace. Finally, in return for what the Apostolic See has done for him, he professes his complete devotion to the Pope, offering him "whatever is due from a servant to his master, from a pupil to his master, and from a son to his father."[1]

Urban and the Empire.

In announcing his election to the Emperor Frederick, Urban added the following to the words in which he proclaimed his accession to the rest of the world: "We feel now greatly encouraged by the fact that Divine Providence has arranged that your presence in our neighbourhood[2] should be a support to our inexperience, and you should be the more willing to lend us a helping hand seeing that our heart is full of love of the imperial dignity. For this dignity we are ready to do all we can, in order that, to the

[1] Ep. ap. *P. L.*, t. 202, p. 1533 f., or ap. epp. Peter of Blois, i. 309, ed. Giles.

[2] The emperor was then at Milan.

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increase of your honour, we may join the Church and the Empire in lasting affection."[1] He proceeded to say that it was his wish to complete anything to the honour of the Empire left undone by his predecessor, and begged the emperor not to listen to those who would detract him, but to lend him his sustaining arm.

Urban's supposed feelings towards the Germans.

Unfortunately, however, the Pope's intentions and wishes were not destined to be fulfilled. The Church and the Empire were soon at enmity, and the Germans declared that the fault lay with Urban, who hated them because at the capture of Milan some of his relatives had been maltreated by Frederick.[2] However, from the letter just cited, there would not seem to be any reason for supposing that Urban's private feelings towards Frederick were the real cause of the quarrel between the Church and the Empire which occupied most of his short pontificate. There were reasons enough of public policy to account for it. Besides that perennial source of trouble, the inheritance of Matilda,[3] there were the question of the Sicilian marriage and the affair of Volmar,[4] as well as certain

[1] "Pro qua . . . dignitate nimirum parati sumus . . . facere omne quod possumus, ut cum tui honoris et salutis augmento ecclesiam et imperium simul perpetua dilectione jungamus." The whole of this addition to the Pope's encyclical on his accession is printed ap. Jaffé, 15,475.

[2] *Gesta Trev., Contin. III.*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 385. *Cf. supra*, p. 252, and *Chron. Laud.*, an. 1185, ed. Cartellieri: "Hic papa tanta execracione Teutonicos habuit, ut eos a communi helemosina sua amovere preceperit." "Urb. P. et Imp. Fred. *inveteratum inter se odium* dissentientes ad invicem renovant." *Contin. Sigeb. Acquicinct.*, an. 1186. Hence Gregorovius, whose patriotism resented any opposition to a German emperor, styles Urban "a violent and unyielding spirit, and a strong opponent of Frederick." *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 612. If Gregorovius had known the letter we have cited in the text, he might have felt compelled to modify his description of Urban.

[3] "Arguebat sane imperatorem de patrimonio d. Mechtildis." Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, iii. 17.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 249 ff.

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minor questions,[1] to breed bad blood between Urban and Frederick. Trained in the school of St. Thomas Becket, Humbert Crivelli had no fear of boldly opposing Frederick's arbitrary conduct.[2]

Unable, as we have seen, to prevent the marriage between Henry and Constance, Urban sent legates to Milan to assist at it (January 27, 1186),[3] but, "following the lead of his predecessor," he refused to crown the bridegroom emperor. And when Frederick proclaimed him "Cæsar" and king of Italy, and caused him to be crowned king by the patriarch of Aquileia without the consent of Urban (who was still archbishop of Milan, and thus had the right to crown the king of Italy), the breach between the emperor and the Pope widened.[4] The Pope suspended the bishops who had taken part in the coronation, and added fuel to the fire, according to the imperialists, by supporting Cremona, then under the ban of the Empire,[5]

[1] Arnold, *ib.* *E.g.*, such as the seizing by the emperor of the property of deceased bishops ("Affirmabat etiam quod episcoporum exuvias injuste acciperet"), and his suppressing certain nunneries, and, under the pretext of the evil lives of their inmates, seizing their revenues. *Ib.*

[2] "Zelator justitiæ, pro defensione S. R. Ecclesie constanter agebat, nec terreni imperii metuens principatum, que sui juris erant intrepidus requirebat." *Ib.* "Friderico diu *per justitiam* resistere videbatur." *Ann. Pegavenses*, an. 1178, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

[3] *Supra*, p. 253 f., and *Contin. Sublas.*, c. 28. Some think that, as the Popes opposed the marriage, Urban could not have sent envoys to represent him at it.

[4] "Fredericus . . . morabatur tunc apud Mediolanum . . . et ibidem fecit Heinricum filium suum cesarem." *Ann. Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 349. "Multimode fuerunt cause dissentionis: præcipua, quod patriarcha Aquileiensis et quidam episcopi interfuerunt absque consensu pape coronationi Henrici regis." *Contin. Sigebert. Acquicinct.*, an. 1186; Arnold, *l.c.*; Ralph de D., *Ymag.*, 1186, ii. 39, R. S.

[5] Wicmann, archbishop of Magdeburg, asserted that "some of them" had read letters from Urban in which he had forbidden the bishops of Lombardy to help the emperor against Cremona (ep. ap. Watterich, ii. 676), and the Pope replied that he had not done so, but had simply forbidden "certain persons" to injure the property of the diocese of Cremona when they were going to the assistance of the emperor. Ep. 43.

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and certainly by consecrating Volmar to the see of Trier (June). Frederick was furious, "and from that day," says a contemporary historian, "the quarrel between him and the Pope became open, and great trouble arose in the Church of God. For when the hinges of the world ceased to work together, great confusion arose among its less important parts, *i.e.*, among the prelates anxious to please one side or the other."[1]

More or less at the outset of the quarrel the Emperor Frederick returned to Germany (summer, 1186),[2] and left Italy at the mercy of his son, whose chief manner of working his will was by the employment of brutal violence. He caused a bishop to be insulted and beaten because, as he held no lands of the sovereign, he maintained that he received his full episcopal investiture from the Pope.[3] He made it impossible for Urban or for any of his court to venture outside the walls of Verona;[4] he robbed and then cut off the nose of one of the Pope's officials;[5] and, acting under his father's orders, he led a large army into the Pope's territories, and, striving by grants of privilege to attach the Romans to the imperial cause,[6] he helped them to lay

[1] Arnold, *l.c.* *Cf. Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1186.

[2] The emperor was in Alsace in August. *Cf.* Stumpf, *Reichskanzler Reg.*, 4463, ap. *Ann. Marbacenses*, ed. Bloch, p. 56, n. 6.

[3] "Domne, nichil de regalibus possideo, nec ministrales nec curtes regias habeo, idcirco de manu d. Pape parrochiam, cui præsum, teneo." Henry's subsequent treatment of the bishop, "omnibus displicuit, quia post Decium nil tale de regibus auditum fuit." Arnold, *l.c.*

[4] *Ann. Romani*, *l.c.*

[5] "Aurum et argentum auferens, in contumeliam pape nasum ei precidit." *Contin. Acquicinct.*, *l.c.* *Cf. Contin. Zwetlen.*, 1185, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. 543. *Cf. Ann. Romani.*, *ib.*, "Si quis vero ex curia pape a Teutonicis capiebatur, usque ad internicionem variis tormentis cruciabatur."

[6] See his grant to Leo de Monumento, consul of the Romans, of the city of Sutri, etc., on account of his fidelity to his father and himself (November 27, 1186). *Cf.* Sora, ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia pat.*, 1906 (xxix.), p. 527 ff. We shall meet Leo again in the following *Lives*.

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waste the districts which remained true to the Pope with fire and sword, and cut off all communication with him.[1]

Frederick meets with opposition in Germany, 1186.

Frederick meanwhile had returned to Germany on account of the growing discontent with his treatment of the German Church, and, the better to accomplish his purposes, had caused all the passes of the Alps and the main roads to be guarded so that no one from Germany might be able to approach the Pope.[2] His violent and lawless conduct is best detailed by our own historian Gervase of Canterbury: "He forbade any appeals to be carried to the Pope from any part of the Empire, prevented appeals from other countries from reaching him," and maltreated, in some cases even unto death, any whom he caught journeying to or from the Pope. "This he did especially at the cities of Ivrea and Turin, which the traveller first encounters when he enters Italy by the Mons Jovis (the Great St. Bernard) or by the valley of Maurienne (Moriana), *i.e.*, by Mont Cenis. He also took possession of various cities and estates that belonged to the Pope, and proposed to take away all that he had."[3]

The emperor's chief opponent in Germany was Philip, archbishop of Cologne, whom Urban had made his legate in order that, as the passes of the Alps were closed, he might receive the appeals which would naturally be

[1] On hearing of Urban's consecration of Volmar, "Imperator . . . mandavit filio, qui tunc temporis in Tusciam victrices aquilas converterat, ut injuriam imperio illatam vindicare non omitteret." Henry accordingly entered Campania, devastated it, "nullique securus transitus debatur eundi aut redeundi ad apostolicam sedem." *Gest. Trev. Contin. III.*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. 385. *Cf.* Johan. Codagnel., *Ann.*, 1186, and the Ghibelline, *Chron. de rebus in Italia*, an. 1186, and *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1185-6.

[2] Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, iii. 18; *Ann. Magdeb.*, 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 195.

[3] *Chron.*, 1186, i. 334, R. S. *Cf.* ep. Urb. 43, a very important document. Jaffé, 15,634. Ralph Niger, *Chron.*, i. p. 95, says: "Turbavit (Frederick) igitur tempore suo (Urban) Ecclesiam."

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addressed to the Apostolic See.[1] Finding that he could not win Philip over to his side, the emperor forbade him to present himself at the diet which he had summoned to meet at Geilenhusen (November 1186). In the absence of the legate, Frederick contrived to win the bishops over to his side, and, at the suggestion of Conrad of Mainz, a letter was written to the Pope in their name in which he was asked to come to terms with the emperor.[2]

Death prevents the Pope from excommunicating Frederick, 1187.

Convinced as he was that he was to a large extent fighting their battles, Urban was bitterly disappointed when he received the letter of the German bishops.[3] Nevertheless, we are told, he persisted in his resolve;[4] and duly,

[1] Arnold, *l.c.* *Cf. Ann. Pegavenses*, 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 265, which tell of Frederick's success in detaching the bishops from the Pope: "Imperator paulatim episcopos a conjuratione potenter et callide distraxit, præter Philippum Coloniensem et alios paucos."

[2] Arnold, c. 19. "Commoneatur (viz., the Pope) ut ea quæ ad pacem sunt vobiscum (Frederick) sentiat, et justitiam vobis in his quæ juste ab eo exiguntur faciat." *Cf.* the letters of Conrad to the German people, to the cardinals, and to the Pope, ap. Watterich, ii. 673 ff., or Harzheim, *Conc. Germ.*, iii. 433-5. In his letter to the Pope, "the lord of the city and the world (*orbis et urbis dominator et domine*)," Conrad reminds him that the Papacy and the Empire (*sacerdotium regale et regnum imperiale*) are the two columns and two swords of the Church, and must mutually support each other, and he begs him to make peace with the emperor, in order to prevent further loss to the Church. The letter which Wicmann of Magdeburg and his suffragans wrote to the Pope at the same time is stronger. It sets forth the emperor's side, viz., his complaints about the consecration of Volmar, about help alleged to have been given by the Pope to the rebellious city of Cremona, about the overburdening of the churches of the Empire by the exactions of papal legates, etc. Ap. Watterich, ii. 675-8.

[3] Arnold, *ib.*

[4] "Imperator ab apostolico canonice citatus, quod spiritualia suo juri vendicasset, pro compositione legatos destinavit (bearing the letters suggested by the diet of Geilenhusen). Nuncii imperatoris ab Apostolico sine pace redierunt, sententia contra eum *data* (not actually decreed, but intended) pro usurpatione spiritualium." *Ann. Pegav.*, *l.c.* *Cf.* ep. 18 of Gregory VIII. (ap. *P. L.*, t. 202), where he makes it plain that he does not wish any further mention of the excommunication of the emperor.

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but in vain, cited the emperor to give satisfaction regarding the inheritance of Matilda and the other points mentioned above.[1] As Frederick showed no inclination to make peace on the lines desired by the Pope,[2] the latter prepared to launch a sentence of excommunication against him. But here he had to reckon with the people of Verona. They came to him and, reminding him that they were bound to the emperor, implored him not to excommunicate him in their city.[3] Under the circumstances Urban could not but oblige them. Accordingly, he left their friendly walls, and like Alexander III. set out for Venice, that he might be able to carry out his intention in a free city.[4] But when he reached Ferrara, about the beginning of October, he fell ill and, worn out with age, died (October 20, 1187)[5] before a fresh embassy, which Frederick had sent to treat of peace, had reached him.[6]

[1] "Apostolicus tamen insistens imperatorem . . . arguebat . . . de patrimonio d. Mechtildis, de episcoporum exuviis, et de abbatissarum stipendiis (the seizure of the revenues of certain nunneries), ita ut manifeste eum citaret et excommunicationis maledictum ei intentaret." Arnold, *ib.*, c. 17. *Cf.* c. 19.

[2] See the letter (February 14, 1187, ep. 119) in which Urban urges Wicmann, archbishop of Magdeburg, to use his influence to induce the emperor to come to terms: "Commonita frequenter a nobis imperialis culminis altitudo ut ecclesiæ R. restituat possessiones ejus, quas detinet occupatas, non ea quæ debuit serenitate respondit, nec videtur velle perficere per quod inter ecclesiam et imperium firma possit pax et concordia pervenire." *Cf.* ep. 43 to Frederick himself, written not earlier (on June 18, 1186, as Jaffé would have it), when the quarrel between them was beginning, but, as I believe with Watterich, later, in 1187. The contents of the letter would seem to prove that the quarrel had lasted some time. See especially the analysis of this letter, ap. Jaffé, 15,634 (9828). Unfortunately the exact dates of both the letters 43 and 119 are uncertain. *Cf.* Jaffé, ii. pp. 497, 503, 726.

[3] Arnold, *l.c.*

[4] *Contin. Sigebert. Acquicinct.*, 1187, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160, p. 326.

[5] *Ann. Romani, l.c.*; Gregory VIII., ep. 1; Gervase, *Chron.*, 1187, i. p. 388, R. S., etc., ap. Jaffé, sub 16,012.

[6] *Ann. Magdeburg.*, 1186, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 195.

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Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of Saladin on October 2, and many annalists assure us that Urban died broken-hearted at the news. But our historian, William of Newburgh, takes special note that the Pope had died before the sad news reached the west of Europe, and so he was spared the wound which the evil tidings from the East would have inflicted on him.[1] Besides, another contemporary, Peter of Blois (†*c.* 1212), whom we may also call our countryman, because he spent in England nearly all his working life, tells us, of his own personal knowledge,[2] the cause of Urban's

[1] "Eidem (Urban) tamen datum est tantæ infelicitatis fama minime sauciari." *Hist.*, iii. 21. This must not, with Stevenson, be interpreted to mean that Urban did not interest himself in the Holy Land, and was not troubled by its misfortunes. His great concern for their difficulties is proved by the many privileges he granted to the heroic Templars and Hospitallers, "because the enemies of the cross of Christ were becoming more active" (Jaffé, 15,842, *cf.* 15,544, 15,856, 15,885, etc.), by the indulgences he granted to those who helped them (*ib.*, 14,545, where he grants a remittance "of the seventh part of a penance" to benefactors of the Hospitallers), by the letters he wrote to obtain help for the kingdom of Jerusalem (*ib.*, 15,924), and especially by the letter he addressed to the prelates of England (Verona, September 8, 1187). This last letter (not registered in Jaffé) has been preserved by Giraldus Cambrensis, *De instruc. principum*, c. 23. It was written after the death of Roger de Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, †May 10, 1187. In it he says that by the calamities in the East: "menti nostræ dolor ingens se ingerit." *Cf.* Röhricht, *Reg. Hierosol., Addit.*, n. 664*a*, and Jacques de Vitry (†1240), *Hist. Orient.*, i. c. 97.

[2] "Protestor vobis in Eo qui summa vita est, quæ audivi et vidi. . . . Quæ scimus loquimur, et quæ vidimus testamur," etc., are the strong assertions of Peter that he is telling the truth. He also asserts that he was a schoolfellow of Urban, and a disciple of a friend (*commensalis*) of Archbishop Baldwin. Ep. Pet. 211, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 494. This letter as given in Migne is in this passage corrupt. Stubbs, ap. *Epp. Cantuarienses*, p. 554 ff., R. S., has reprinted it from a MS. at Oxford. His version of the passage runs: "Nam in scholis Urbani socius et discipulus fueram Baldewyni (MS. valdywyny), tunc vero ejusdem archiepiscopi commensalis." Stubbs notes that "Peter and Urban may have studied either at Milan or at Melun."

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death. He was, he says, riding with Urban when he left Verona for Ferrara, and, in reference to the dispute between the monks of Canterbury and Archbishop Baldwin, which will be mentioned presently, was striving to induce the Pope to take a kindly view of the latter. But, because the agents of the monks had succeeded in prejudicing or enlightening him against the archbishop, Urban broke out: "May I never mount a horse again if I do not speedily depose him from his archbishopric!" He had no sooner said this than the gold cross which was being carried before him broke, and that very day at "Sutoro" or "Futuro" he was seized with dysentery, had to be taken by water to Ferrara, and there died before he could again mount a horse.

Tomb of Urban.

The funeral obsequies of the departed pontiff, whom Gervase calls "the comfort of the afflicted,"[1] were celebrated by the worthy people of Ferrara "with the greatest magnificence and with the burning of countless tapers for seven days."[2]

The body of the Pope was laid to rest behind the high altar of the cathedral. But the tomb in which it now rests is not the original one; for the inscription on it shows that it only dates from 1305, and is no doubt the red marble one which was known to Pipino.[3] It is an unornamented but handsome sarcophagus resting on four columns.

[1] *L.c.*

[2] Rob. of Auxerre, *Chron.*, 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. 252.

[3] *Chron.*, i. c. 12, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. 598: "Post altare majoris ecclesiæ lapide rubro tumulatus quievit." The inscription, which is not quite accurate, sets forth: "Hic jacet sacre memorie Urbanus Papa III natione Mediolanensis ex genere Cribellorum, sepultus millo. c. lxxxv, et revelatus (relevatus?) millo. cccv. die ix mensis Augusti indictione iii. temporibus fratris Guidonis Ferrariensis episcopi Johannis archipresbyteri et Bonagratie prepositi." Ap. *L. P.*, ii. 451. See on p. 311.

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ENGLAND.

Permission for Prince John to be crowned king of Ireland.

In England the news of the election of the eloquent and business-like[1] Hubert Crivelli, the friend of its martyred archbishop, was received with profound satisfaction. King Henry was as pleased to hear the news as any of his people, and we are told that he at once "sent envoys to Pope Urban, and obtained many things from him which Pope Lucius had firmly refused, one of which was that any of his sons whom he should select might be crowned king of Ireland. This request was conceded by the lord Pope, who confirmed it by a bull, and in proof of his assent and confirmation sent him a crown of peacocks' feathers set in gold."[2] Later on, in the beginning of the year 1187, he sent two legates to England, Octavian, cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and Hugh of Nonant, afterwards (1188) bishop of Coventry. They were given a legatine commission for Ireland, where they were to crown Prince John. A splendid reception was given to them at Westminster Abbey, and they immediately assumed great state. By the Pope's authority they caused their crosses to be carried before them wherever they went, and always wore their mitres and scarlet robes; and they gave out that they had been commissioned by the Pope to hear any cases that were to be referred to him.[3] This roused the jealousy of Archbishop Baldwin, himself a "legate of the Apostolic See." Accordingly, with his suffragans he approached the king, and persuaded him that the stay of the two legates

[1] So is he described by Herbert de Bosham, *Vita S. Thom.*, vii. 1.

[2] Roger of H., *Chron.*, 1187, ii. p. 306, R. S. There is extant a letter of Henry himself to the Pope in which he thanks him for his kindness towards him "from the very day of his promotion." Ap. *Epp. Cantuarienses*, p. 16 f., R. S.

[3] "Ipsi vero, auctoritate summi pontificis, cruces ante se portari fecerunt ubicunque ambulabant; et semper incedebant mitrati, et rubeis indumentis induti." *Gesta Henrici* (Benedict), 1187, ii. 4, R. S.

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would only result in loss to the country, and that he had better take them with him to Normandy to make peace between him and the king of France.[1] Nothing loath—for he was as usual too busy with his continental dominions to attend to Ireland—Henry took the two legates with him, not to Ireland, but to France. The negotiations, however, with the French king were unsuccessful, and the papal legates had to return without accomplishing anything.

Baldwin named "legate of the Apostolic See."

In the preceding paragraph the title of "legate of the Apostolic See" was given to Archbishop Baldwin. In the time of Urban's predecessor, Henry II. had written to ask that the archbishop of Canterbury might be named the Pope's legate in England. His letter was received by Urban, who in his reply "observes with special emphasis that since the *magisterium ecclesiæ* is continuous, though the persons exercising it change, King Henry is to expect always the same goodness at the hands of the Apostolic See; and although it is without precedent that petitions addressed to a dying pontiff should be acceded to without a renewal of the request to his successor, nevertheless in the present case the Pope departs from the rule in order to give the king a signal proof of his fatherly love. On this account he is willing to grant the king the request he made to his predecessor, and he herewith nominates the archbishop apostolic legate in the province of Canterbury" (December 17, 1885).[2]

[1] *Ib.* *Cf.* Roger de H., *l.c.*, p. 317.

[2] *Cf. English Hist. Rev.*, ix. (1894), p. 536 ff., where there is printed the full text of three letters from Urban relating to this legatine commission. The letters, remarkable for their "noble language," are addressed to Henry, to Baldwin, and to the clergy of the province respectively. They were for the most part unknown to Jaffé and his continuators. But Ralph de Diceto, *Imag. hist.*, 1186, R. S., ii. 39 f., had preserved Urban's letter to the province of Canterbury in which

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The great quarrel between the archbishops and the monks of Canterbury, 1185–1200.

But before Urban died he was far more disposed to lessen than to increase the dignity of Archbishop Baldwin. We have already heard him threatening to depose him altogether. The cause of this change of feeling in the Pope towards the archbishop was his disobedience to the mandates of the Holy See in connection with the great dispute which began in his time between the archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of Christ Church in the same city, and which was destined to last for fifteen years. Into the details of this famous quarrel it is quite impossible to enter here. It was conducted with considerable skill and pertinacity by both sides, though unfortunately with great bitterness,[1] especially by the archbishop. Of this we can judge not merely from the narratives of contemporary historians, but especially from the *dossier* of the affair, which was collected between the years 1201 and 1205 by one Reginald,[2] and which was edited with his customary care and ability by the late Bishop Stubbs.[3] The fact that

he says that he has committed "vices nostras" to Baldwin. This document was known to Jaffé, 15,520. A letter of December 19, 1185 (Jaffé, 15,490), shows Baldwin in possession of his new title of "apostolicæ sedis legatus," on which see Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist. of Eng.*, iii. 298 ff. He notes (p. 300) that archbishops Richard and Baldwin "were made legates as a matter of course." The letter analysed in the text shows that this statement needs explanation.

[1] Stubbs, in his Introduction to the *Epp. Cantuar.*, quoted below, "cannot acquit" Archbishop Baldwin of "harshness, arbitrary severity, and want of tact"; nor can he avoid telling of the "fresh acts of aggression" perpetrated by Baldwin's successor, Hubert Walter, p. cvi. Even as early as 1150 Archbishop Theobald promptly had recourse to violence when the monks wished to appeal against his treatment of them. *Ib.*, p. xxxiii.

[2] Probably the subprior who was elected to succeed Archbishop Hubert in 1205. Stubbs, Introduction to the *dossier*, p. xi.

[3] It was published under the title of *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, and forms the second vol. of the *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I.*, London, 1865, R. S.

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Reginald's collection of documents regarding the dispute occupies five hundred and thirty-eight closely printed octavo pages, supplies an abundantly sufficient reason of the impossibility of our giving anything like a complete account of the struggle.

The real cause of the quarrel between the archbishops and the monks was a determination on the part of the former to be absolute masters in their own cathedral,[1] which they could not easily be when a body of monks, with independent revenues of their own, had acquired many prescriptive rights over it; and, on the part of the monks, a fixed resolve not to give up the very smallest of what they believed to be their rights and privileges. If, then, the cause of the quarrel was profound, those who took part in it were numerous and influential. The bishops, who thought that they should have a leading voice in the election of their archbishop, sided for the most part with their metropolitan, and our Angevin kings, anxious to restrict the power of the Pope, who was the sole resource of the monks against the archbishop, generally supported the Canterbury prelate who was ordinarily their nominee. Outside the country the dispute attracted the attention and interest not merely, as was to be expected, of Pope and cardinal, but of the princes and prelates of the Empire, of France, and of Sicily; and, both at home and abroad, the great congregation of Cluny naturally extended their sympathy to the monks, whilst the Cistercians were to some extent drawn towards the archbishop, who was one of themselves.

[1] Baldwin complained: "In ecclesia quæ mea est, et unde persona ego sum, non possum celebrare, nec nisi sicut peregrinus extraneus intrare et orare. Si quem vocavero, statim mihi respondet, aut quod non veniet, aut quod propter conventum venire non audet, aut quod inde loquetur." *Cf.* a letter of the monastery to their prior, ap. *Epp. C.*, p. 316.

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It is perhaps easy to suppose that the exhibition of a little tact on both sides, and a mutual readiness to an adjustment of legitimate claims by compromise, might have averted quarrels and lawsuits which were directly to involve five Popes, two archbishops of Canterbury, and two kings of England; and, besides reducing the monks from affluence to beggary, were to bring upon them much misery at home from the violence of their powerful foes, and sufferings and even death abroad from the plagues and fevers of Rome in summer, or the frost and snow in the Alpine passes in winter. Five of the monks who had gone to Rome to conduct the appeal of the monastery died there at one time of the plague, and the letter of another monk to his brethren at home lets us see what it was to cross the Great St. Bernard in winter. When, wrote the monk John to his subprior, I was on the Mons Jovis, the mountains towering above me directed my thoughts to heaven, and I felt nearer to it; but the sight of the deep dark valleys beneath me, dragged me down to hell, and I prayed that God would send me back to my brethren, that they might not "come into this place of torments" (St. Luke xvi. 28). Truly that is a place of torments where hard ice covers the rocky ground, where it is too slippery to stand, and where death waits you if you fall. When I took out of my wallet some parchment to write to you, I found that the ink-bottle which hung at my waist contained only a hard dry solid, and that my fingers were too stiff to write. My beard too was stiff with the frost, and icicles formed by my frozen breath made it twice as long.[1]

It is not difficult, we say, to imagine that mutual con-

[1] Ep. of the monk John, ap. *ib.*, p. 181. "Hic manum in peram conjeci, ut sinceritati vestræ vel syllabas unas exararem, invenique atramentarium a renibus dependens humore sicco repletum et indurato,' etc.

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sideration and Christian forbearance might have prevented so much strife, such loss of money, and such misery. But, human nature being what it is, there are some differences between men so knotty that it seems they can only be loosed by violence. And it would appear that the views of the archbishops of Canterbury on the one hand, and those of the monks of Christ Church on the other, were so divergent, that only force could bring them into line.

The ill feeling between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury became acute when Baldwin began to make preparations for building a great collegiate church at Hakington, a suburb to the north of Canterbury, not much more than a quarter of a mile from the cathedral (*c.* November 1186).[1] The monks saw in the archbishop's action an attempt to establish a new cathedral, and thus gradually to deprive them of their privileges. Nor does it appear that their suspicions were ever categorically declared by the archbishop to be without foundation. However, he proclaimed that the way in which his predecessors had alienated diocesan property for the benefit of the monks had rendered him unable to reward those who served him faithfully; and, under the plea of powers obtained from Rome, he had already (December 1185) seized the *xenia* or Easter and Christmas offerings from their manors which St. Anselm had made over to the monks, and four churches which Archbishop Richard had also made over to them. He opened his attack upon the privileges of the monks "by those crooked ways in which a man cannot walk at once honestly and successfully."[2]

The monks now formally appealed to the Pope (December

[1] Or, as it was expressed by a contemporary: "nec ab ecclesia Cantuariensi ultra quam per jactum balistæ." Ep. 95, *ib.*, p. 81.

[2] Stubbs, Introduction to the *Epp. Cant.*, p. xxxvi. It does not appear to me that the case for the monks is given by Stubbs with that force which the *dossier* requires.

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1186), and the quarrel began in earnest. On May 9, 1187, there was issued the first papal mandate to stop the building of the church, and the establishment of canons in connection with it.[1] The execution of this and other similar mandates of Urban himself and of Clement III. and Celestine III.[2] was opposed by Baldwin by every legal artifice, by a constant use of the spiritual power and material force which he had at his own disposal, and by procuring the assistance of the secular arm. In his headstrong violence he forgot the obedience he had sworn to the Pope,[3] turned a deaf ear to the advice of even St. Hugh of Lincoln,[4] would not listen to his fellow Cistercians urging him to refrain from the building of the new church,[5] did not hesitate to interpolate letters,[6] and did not conduct his case at Rome in good faith.[7]

On their side the monks may have once or twice met violence with fraud. They were undoubtedly very free with their criticisms, and may[8] perhaps from time to time have unduly pressed a point against the archbishop. But the

[1] Ep. 40, p. 34, ap. *ib.*, or epp. 126 ff.

[2] Ep. 128, October 3, 1187; ep. 193 of Clement III., January 26, 1188; ep. 358 of Celestine III., May 28, 1191, and many others, ap. *Epp. C.*

[3] In this very *dossier* we are so frequently quoting we have the oath taken by Hubert Walter, Baldwin's successor, when he received the pallium from Celestine III. (November 7, 1193). It is the same oath that Baldwin himself had taken, and begins: "ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero et obediens b. Petro, sanctæ R. E., et d. n. P. Cœlestino." *Epp. C.*, pp. 367-8.

[4] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 133 ff., R. S.

[5] Epp. 87 and 274, ap. *Epp. C.*

[6] *Cf. ib.*, p. lxx, and epp. 297 and 562.

[7] Hence Clement III. complained that whereas the monks professed their readiness to abide by the Pope's decision, and sent envoys with full powers to treat: "clerici fratris nostri archiepiscopi minus sufficientes sunt, et nullum mandatum habent." Ep. 228, ap. *ib.*, p. 210.

[8] They were very unsparing in their condemnation of the Romans of all classes. The merchants, for instance, were such rogues them-

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instance of bad faith urged against them cannot be called serious,[1] and for the principal point which the archbishop declared was wrongly urged against him there was plenty of *prima facie* evidence. The monks contended that the action of the archbishop proved that, in conjunction with the king, he was endeavouring to form a fresh patriarchate, and to throw off that subjection which he owed to Rome. This assertion they repeated over and over again, with the obvious intention of inducing the Pope to act vigorously in their behalf.[2] Nevertheless, their statements in this respect are borne out by the testimony of a member of the Roman court writing from England what "he saw and

selves that they would not trust anybody, and hence in giving credit would not take the ordinary securities accepted by merchants of other places, but insisted on having Roman names as securities. "Nolunt namque mercatores Romani mutuum dare, nisi Romanos fidejussores habuerint, nec contenti sunt cautione quam habemus, sicut aliæ gentes, nemini fidem habentes, quia nec eis fides haberi potest." Ep. 230, ap. *ib.*, p. 212. They declare they would sooner fall among thieves than into the clutches of the Roman curia, which is despised by all for its extortions. Ep. 232, *ib.*, p. 214. They quote Priscian to the effect that the Romans love the *ablative* ("the taking away" case) rather than the *dative* ("the giving to" case). Ep. 248, *ib.*, p. 230. They do not spare even the Pope himself. Because Gregory VIII. did not favour them, they did not scruple to call him a hypocrite, at least in equivalent language. "D. Gregorii severitas et inclementia, in cujus corde aliud latitabat quam ore prætenderet, causæ nostræ merita evacuare nitebatur." Ep. 196, *ib.*, p. 179. And when Clement III. obliged them by sending a legate in their interests, they professed to be scandalised because he made them pay for the concession. They seem to have forgotten that the despatch of a cardinal *a latere* cost money. *Cf.* ep. 236, *ib.*, p. 218. How petty was their criticism of papal justice is proved by the fact that they themselves acknowledged that it was sought by the universal Church, which knew that justice was to be got from the Apostolic See. Ep. 143, ap. *ib.*, p. 113.

[1] Stubbs, *ib.*, p. xxxix.

[2] *E.g.* ep. 69, *ib.*, p. 55. "Justitiam impedit (Baldwin) laica potestate. Ecce cujus consilio et qua intentione fundata fuerit nova illa ecclesia, ut videlicet . . . archiepiscopus sedeat quasi papa, et ibi omnis causa subsistat, vel ad curiam regis procedat . . . ut possit de sub jugo S. R. E. collum excutere." *Cf.* epp. 144, 184, 422, etc., etc., ap. *ib.*

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heard."[1] But this charge Baldwin rebutted with vigour. He told Pope Clement that he was well aware that the monks were using all their exertions to prove that he was a rebel against the Holy See. But, he continued, "we know and publicly acknowledge that obedience is due to the Roman Church not in consequence of any ideas of man, but by virtue of the decision of Christ, and is a fundamental point of Christian faith and evangelical discipline. In vain should we have lived if, in the evening of our life, when it behoves us to have more special care of our eternal salvation, . . . we should conceive a spirit of rebellion against the Roman Church. Most holy Father, far be it from us to dream of such a thing, and far be it from your Holiness to think us so foolish and so wicked as to attempt anything contrary to what is right or contrary to the most Holy See."[2]

Hackington demolished. Archbishop Walter reopens the attack on the monks.

At length, however, the persistent assertion of their claims by the monks met with its reward. In July 1191 the church at Hackington was demolished, some nine months after Baldwin had, it is to be hoped, expiated his faults by his death in Palestine in the cause of the Crusade (November 1190). But though Henry II. and Baldwin had passed away, some at least of their ideas survived them,

[1] Ep. 95, *ib.*, pp. 79–81. It is a most interesting letter. Much of what he relates is only gossip, but it is gossip which shows what ordinary men believed to be the ideas of the archbishop. He repeats the story about the fresh patriarchate "cum jam nihil litteris d. Papæ vel appellationibus deferatur"; says it was publicly reported that when the archbishop received a papal letter which he did not like, he used to order it to be pitched along with the others, as he had not, he said, got a waggon quite full of them yet; and he adds that the sympathy of the whole country was with the monks, though fear of the king prevented an open demonstration of it.

[2] Ep. 191, *ib.*, p. 173 f., February 1188. "Scimus et publice profitemur, quod non est humanæ inventionis obedientia Romanæ ecclesiæ debita, sed de sententia Christi, de schola evangelicæ disciplinæ, et de fidei Christianæ fundamento processit."

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and were taken up by their respective successors Richard I. and Hubert Walter. The latter determined to carry out at Lambeth what Baldwin had failed to do at Hackington. Needless to say, the monks were just as much opposed to a cathedral church at Lambeth as at Hackington, and lost no time in again appealing to the Pope. They had not to wait so long for justice this time. Although Archbishop Walter was more diplomatic than Baldwin, and King Richard was a man of more reckless daring than his father, they had to encounter one who was inferior to neither of them either in diplomatic ability or in true courage. They had to face the great pontiff Innocent III. One vigorous letter followed another in rapid succession from his chancellary, addressed to the archbishop, to the king, and to the monastery.[1] On November 28, 1198, he pronounced his definitive sentence.[2] His letter was received by the archbishop at Lambeth on January 2, and before the end of the month the church at Lambeth had shared the fate of that at Hackington.[3] Hubert Walter had been dumbfounded by the prompt punishments inflicted by Innocent,[4] and, with bated breath, had told the bishop of Norwich that his agents in Rome had informed him that the Pope had suspended two patriarchs and two archbishops, though their envoys were in Rome ready to answer for them, and had sent a legate into Spain to excommunicate two kings, though their ambassadors were also in Rome in their behalf. He was soon to threaten our own King Richard for his treatment of the monks of Christ Church.[5]

[1] Ep. 434 ff., April 1198 ff., 441–2, 479, etc., ap. *ib.*

[2] Ep. 498, ap. *ib.*, p. 459 ff. *Cf.* 501–3 and 519–20.

[3] Epp. 506 ff., *ib.*, p. 474 ff.

[4] Ep. 436, *ib.*, pp. 395–6, c. June 1198, "Hoc nos valde movet."

[5] Epp. 519, 520, *ib.*, p. 483 ff., December 22, 1198. Whether Richard would have ultimately braved the Pope's threats can be only matter for conjecture. He was killed April 6, 1199.

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The final settlement of the whole quarrel, 1200.

The archbishop had, however, not made complete satisfaction to the monks. He had not restored the disputed churches to them, nor had he destroyed the collegiate buildings in connection with the church at Lambeth. A new appeal on the part of the monks, and a fresh petition to the Pope from the archbishop, was followed by mandates from the Pope to St. Hugh of Lincoln and others bidding them examine into the whole situation,[1] and, ordering that, if the affair was not settled by Martinmas, it must be transferred to Rome, as he cannot hear the case mentioned without a blush of shame.[2] This was enough. Arbitrators were chosen, and on November 6, 1200, they gave judgment. They decided that the archbishop might build a small church at Lambeth, but not on the site of the one which had been destroyed by the orders of the Pope; that he might instal therein Premonstratensian but not secular canons; and that he might endow it, but not with more than £100 a year, from revenues belonging to the see but not to the monastery. Moreover the archbishop was not to ordain or celebrate any important episcopal function therein. After the death of the existing incumbents, the four disputed churches were to be divided between the monastery and the archbishop, who was to retain the *xenia* during his lifetime. Finally, it was decided that both parties should seek confirmation of the award from the Pope and the king.[3] Innocent's approval was issued on June 30, 1201;[4] the cause was ended; and it may be taken for granted that the reader will not care to hear corresponding details of a similar dispute between Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry, and

[1] Ep. 525, *ib.*, p. 490 ff., May 19, 1199.
[2] Ep. 545, May 21, 1200, *ib.*, p. 509.
[3] See the award—document 548—ap. *ib.*, p. 512 ff.
[4] Epp. 552 f., ap. *ib.*, p. 517 ff.

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his monastic chapter (*c.* 1190).[1] It may be noted in conclusion that the general justice of the claims of the monks is attested not only by the final decision of the arbitrators, but by that of all the Popes who heard them except Gregory VIII., of whose limited support of Baldwin it was said that it was given "more for love of the person than of the cause."[2] And even Peter of Blois, one of the chief agents employed by the enemies of the monks, lived to profess his grief to them for having opposed them. He was compelled, he declared, by King Henry to act against them.[3]

. . . . . .

Work of Urban that must be left unnoticed.

Although Hungary and Spalato,[4] Sardinia and Pisa,[5] and Poland and Scotland[6] are calling out to us to tell what Urban did for them, we must turn a deaf ear to their cries, and bring our life of Urban to a close. But as signs of the times in which he lived we will add that he forbade the wearing of "precious furs" by certain nuns,[7] extended his patronage to the famous prophet and mystic Joachim of Fiore who came to visit him,[8] encouraged bridge-

[1] The curious on the subject will find the details in Sir F. Palgrave's preface to the *Rotuli Curiæ Regis*, p. xviii ff., London, 1835. For similar troubles in Dublin under Archbishop Henry, see Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Ch.*, p. 271 f. The reader will find further details on the Canterbury quarrel in Flanagan, *A Hist. of the Ch. in England*, i. pp. 412–441.

[2] Ep. 494, ap. *Epp. Cant.*, p. 455. Letter of the monks to Innocent III., October 1198.

[3] See his ep. to the monastery (1191), ap. *ib.*, p. 335. Peter says that it was through the cunning of Henry that Baldwin kept up his quarrel with the monks. The king wanted to have him always in trouble in order that he might have him always obsequious to himself. This from Henry's own secretary!

[4] Jaffé, 15,477–8 (Hungary) and 15,690 (Spalato).

[5] *Ib.*, 15,685 (S.), 15,742 (P.).

[6] Jaffé, 15,528 (P.) and 15,638 (S.).

[7] *Ib.* 15,503.

[8] *Cf.* Bernard Guido., *in vit. Urb.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii. pt. i. p. 476. Something will be said of Joachim under Celestine III., who confirmed his order. As we are informed by Luke (archbishop of Cosenza,

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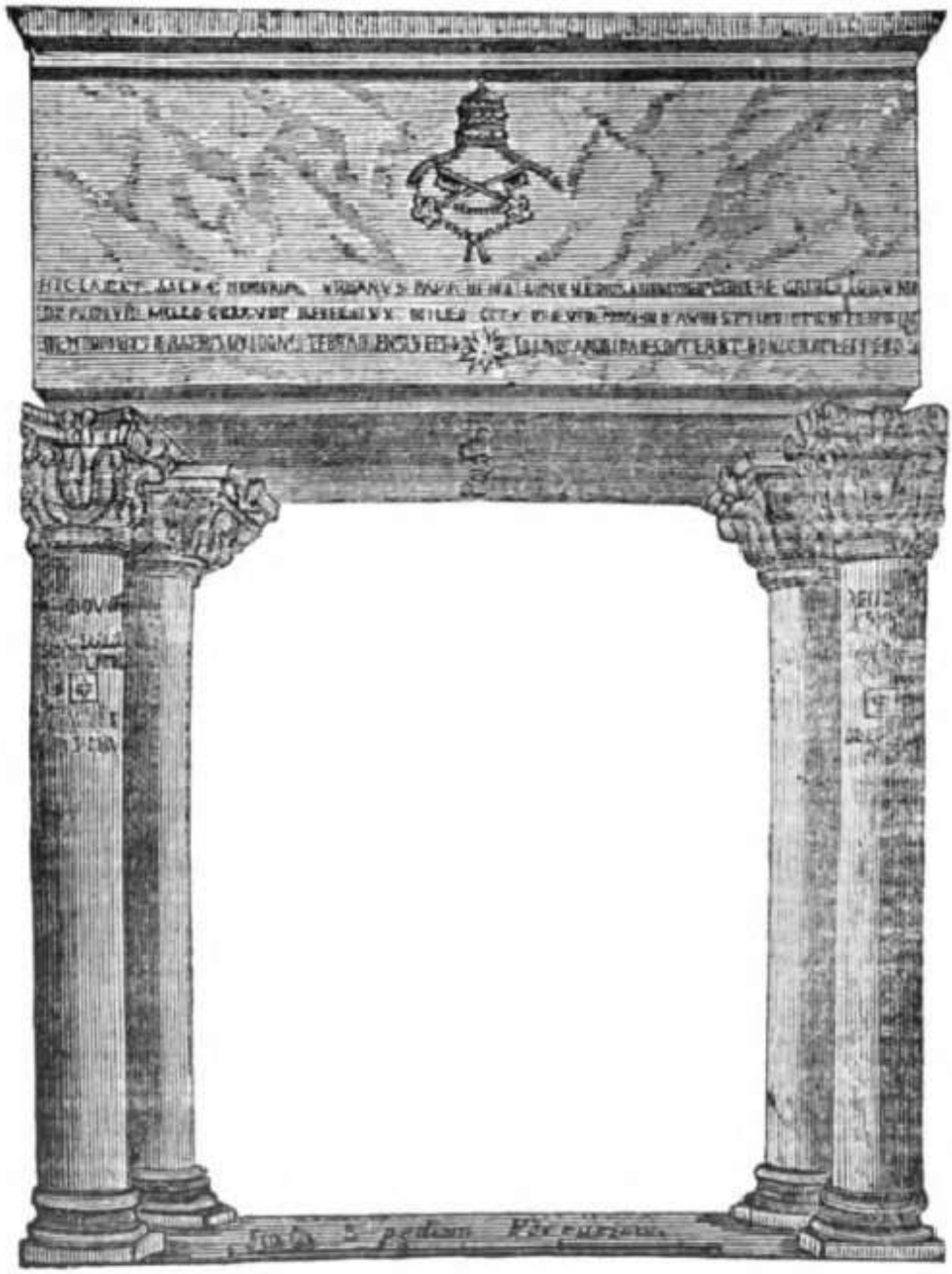

The Tomb of Urban III. at Ferrara.
(From the Bollandists.)

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building,[1] and, while he would not allow clerical forgers to be put to death or mutilated, he consented to their being branded after they had been degraded.[2]

"Urbanus memoriæ atque famæ bonæ."[3]

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†1224), a friend of Joachim, permission to expound the Scriptures in writing had already been given to Joachim in 1183 by Lucius III. after he had listened to him explaining them by word of mouth: "a quo et licentiam scribendi obtinuit et scribere cœpit." *Cf.* Luke's narrative, ap. *Acta SS.*, 29 Mai, vii. p. 91. As Joachim himself noted in the preface to his commentary on the apocalypse: "non meæ præsumptionis audacia sed Romani auctoritate pontificis exponendam assumpsi." He dedicated his concordance of the two Testaments to Pope Lucius. *Cf.* Jacobus Graecus, the late author of his *Life* (in 1612), c. 4, ap. *ib.*, p. 99.

[1] Jaffé, 15,773.

[2] *Ib.*, 15,752. "Sed eis degradatis."

[3] A verse of the poem on the Third Crusade by Monachus of Florence, apparently archbishop of Cesarea (1181–1192). The poem is printed by Stubbs, ap. *Chron.* Rog. de Hov., iii., cvi, R. S.

Leaden Bulla of Urban III.

Addition to note 3, *p.* 298.

When I visited Ferrara in August 1912, I found that the sarcophagus and its columns had disappeared, but had been replaced by a modern sepulchral monument built into the left wall of the choir. It consisted first of a medallion showing the bust of the Pope wearing a tiara with three crowns; then below the medallion came the arms of the Pope (a sieve); and beneath that again a slab bearing the inscription already given, with the date altered to 1187.

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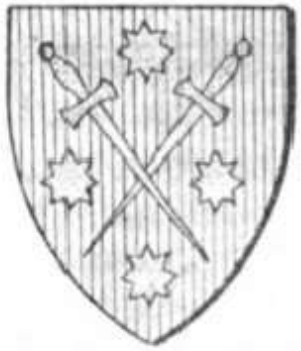

Gules, two swords argent in saltire, the hilts in chief or, between four mullets of the last.

GREGORY VIII.

A.D. 1187.

Sources.—No contemporary document has been found which can be considered as a biography of this short-lived pontiff. Some details of his life before he became Pope are to be found not only in the Continental and English chronicles of the period, but also in some of the contemporary letters which have been published in our Rolls Series as *Materials for the Hist. of Thos. Becket*, or under the title of *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*. Gregory's letters, etc., are collected ap. *Pat. Lat.*, t. 202.

Modern Works.—I have not seen Nadig, *Gregors VIII 57-tägiges Pontifikat*, Basle, 1890, but Dr. G. Kleemann's *Papst Gregor VIII*, Bonn, 1912, contains all that is known of Gregory VIII. Kleemann's sympathies are imperialistic, but his work is well done.

Contemporary sovereigns.—See above.

Albert de Morra or Mora, elected Pope.

WHILST the stout-hearted[1] Urban lay dying at Ferrara, there was travelling thither with the proverbial speed of bad news the sad story of the capture of Jerusalem by

[1] "Bene animosus fuit in opere et sermone." *Cf.* a letter of a monk from Rome to his superior at Canterbury, ap. *Epp. Cantuarienses*, pp. 138–9, R. S. Because Gregory, his successor, was not too favourable to the claims of the monks, the writer of the said letter amuses himself with observing that he died in the eighth week because he was not worthy of the octave! "Non fuit in signo sicut numero, quia nulli fuit propitius. In octonario hebdomadarum decessit, forte quia non fuit dignus ogdoade."

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Saladin (October 2, 1187), which was destined not only to rouse Europe to the utmost pitch of religious and warlike enthusiasm, but at once to influence the election of a successor to Urban.[1] Inspired with his strong ideas on the best way of procuring freedom for the Church, "the cardinal-bishops, priests, and deacons who met together on the day following Urban's death (October 21) decided to choose as Pope one like to him. Accordingly, among the three at first selected, Henry, cardinal-bishop of Albano, seems to have been the most prominent, and the most likely to have been elected.[2] But Henry was a man whose whole soul was in the Holy Land, and the news of the fall of Jerusalem had so taken possession of him that he was resolved, as far as in him lay, that everything should be sacrificed to the interests of a new Crusade. The strong policy of Urban which had so irritated the emperor must be abandoned, and a Pope must be chosen of a more amiable and pacific temper, one who was known to be on good terms with him. When therefore it was proposed that the three selected candidates should withdraw in order that their respective claims might be discussed, Henry of Albano stepped forward: "What need is there for us to withdraw?" he asked. "I assure you that I will never accept the dignity; and my lord of Palestrina is,[3] on account of his weak health,[4] wholly unfit to bear the burden of the Papacy. There remains then the

[1] Gregory himself, announcing his election to the prelates of "the churches in Germany (Theutonia)," says that, before the election actually took place, there was brought forward, though only to be postponed, "the calamity of the Church in the East, which had then became known —quæ diebus illis audita fuerat." Ep. 1.

[2] "Sanior pars cardinalium voluit d. Henricum Albanensem quondam Clarevallis abbatem in Papam eligere." Albericus trium font., *Chron.*, 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 860.

[3] Paul Scolari, who was this year to be Pope Clement III.

[4] He was troubled with heart disease.

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chancellor. Amongst us there is no one so suitable as he. He knows full well the rights and customs of the Roman Church, and is beloved by the princes of the earth.[1] As for myself," he concluded, "I am the servant of the cross of Christ, ready to go forth to preach it to kings and peoples."[2]

The disinterested words of the bishop of Albano carried conviction; and the choice of the cardinals fell upon the chancellor of the Roman Church, whom contemporary authors seem to call simply Albert, but later authors Albert *de Morra* (*Mora*), or even de Spinaccio. The new Pope was saluted as Gregory VIII.,[3] and was crowned four days after his election (October 25).

Albert's early career.

It is certain that Albert was a native of Benevento, for so it is stated by many of his contemporaries; but that he was the son of Sartorius de Morra, and belonged to a noble Neapolitan family of that name, does not appear to be quite so well established.[4] He took the religious habit in the famous monastery of St. Martin of Laon, the eldest daughter of Prémontré, and regarded as the second mother of the Premonstratensian order. All through his life

[1] This interesting account of Albert's election has been preserved for us by a letter of the agents of Archbishop Baldwin in Rome to their master. Ep. ap. *Epp. Cantuarienses*, p. 108, R. S. In connection with his being a *persona grata* to the princes of the earth, Gervase of Canterbury, angry with Gregory because he did not support the monks of Canterbury against Baldwin, would have us believe that the chancellor Albert stood high in the emperor's favour "because he used to reveal to him all the secrets of the Roman curia." *Chron.*, 1187, i. 388, R. S.

[2] Albericus, *l.c.*

[3] "Albertum . . . virum sanctum et religiosum . . . Gregorium octavum appellaverunt." *Gesta Trev., Contin. III.*, c. 11, ap. *M. G. SS.* xxiv.

[4] These statements are made by such modern writers as Ciaconius, in *vit. Greg.* (though he gives an alternative for the father's name: "filium Sertorii a Mora, alias Spanadrionis"); Novaes, in his biog. of G. (iii. 126); and Frassoni, *Essai d'armorial des Papes*, p. 17: "dont (Albert) les petits neveux sont les princes de Morra de Naples."

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Albert retained his love for his first monastic home, and every year received from it the habit of the order.[1]

From his signature, found attached to some of the bulls of Hadrian IV., it is clear that our Premonstratensian canon was created cardinal-deacon of the title of St. Hadrian early in the year 1157, and that he entered the papal chancellary in the same year as vice-chancellor to Rolando (Alexander III.). In the following year he was named cardinal-priest of St. Lawrence in Lucina, and as such was sent as legate to Hungary (1167).[2] During the course of his legation he had occasion to spend some time at Spalato. His affability gained the hearts of all with whom he came in contact, and the clergy unanimously chose him to fill their vacant archiepiscopal chair. But when the mass of the people were called upon to confirm the election, they displayed the usual fickleness of crowds, which, says the archdeacon of Spalato, are wont "to despise those they know and to seek after those of whom they know nothing; to reject the certain and to love the uncertain." In great excitement they cried out that they loved and revered the cardinal, but did not wish to have him as their archbishop. "Men of Spalato," replied the cardinal, wreathed in smiles, "it becomes not the wise to make a great ado about nothing. . . . Touching this election, my desires are the same as yours. I do not, however, decline it on account of your outcries, but because I believe that the work of the universal Church

[1] *Chron. Lauduncnse*, 1186. "Ecclesiam b. Martini, in qua habitum religionis sumpsit, semper corde habuit, que etiam ei annuatim vestes secundum regulam procuravit." *Cf.* Balduini Ninovensis *Chron.*, 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxv. 537. The Premonstratensian Baldwin of Ninove (diocese of Malines) in Flanders (†1294) was a most careful, if not most critical, historian. His chronicle extends from A.D. 1 to the year of his death.

[2] Thomas, *Hist. Salon.*, c. 20. Thomas calls Albert "vir magne auctoritatis et eximie honestatis."

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on which I am engaged is more meritorious in the eyes of God." Turning then to the clergy, he continued: "For your true love I thank you, but I beg you choose another archbishop."[1] Any hesitation on the part of the clergy to accede to the cardinal's wishes was stifled by a mandate from Pope Alexander forbidding Albert to accept the proffered archbishopric.[2]

In 1178 Albert became the last *chancellor* of the Roman Church till the title was revived by our present Holy Father, Pius X. After the days of the chancellorship of Albert de Morra, the head of the papal chancellary only took the title of vice-chancellor.

Albert was still chancellor when he was nominated by Alexander III. to pronounce the absolution of Henry II. after the murder of St. Thomas Becket. This appointment drew upon him the notice of John of Salisbury, who wrote that "the Pope is a holy and just man, and, as is said by many, he has an imitator in the lord Albert."[3]

The Papal chancellary.

Seeing that by his book of rules regarding the *style* of papal bulls (concerning which something will be said presently) Albert added lustre to the papal chancellary, a few words on that venerable establishment, even by his time probably about a thousand years old, will not be out of place.

The primitive chancellary.

Our knowledge, indeed, of the pontifical chancellary during the era of the pagan persecutions rests more on conjecture and inference than on actual historical data. Still, satisfactory indications of its existence are not wanting to support the obvious contention that the position and needs of the Roman Church even in that early period must have engendered a chancellary of some kind. From the earliest days of the propagation of Christianity the Church of Rome became a centre of Christian corre-

[1] *Ib.*, pp. 67–8, ed. Rački.
[2] Jaffé, 11,361.
[3] Ep. 183, ap. *P. L.*, t. 199.

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spondence and a medium of communication between the different churches. All are aware that the apostles SS. Peter[1] and Paul wrote letters to and from Rome. St. Clement, the disciple of the latter and the third bishop of Rome,[2] in order to quell dissensions in the Church of Corinth, wrote letters to it in the name of the Church of Rome which even in the days of Eusebius, the father of Church History, were still publicly read in most of the churches.[3] St. Ignatius, the second successor of St. Peter in the see of Antioch, and the correspondent of St. Polycarp, "who had been taught by the apostles themselves,"[4] sent an important letter to the Romans.[5] What need to mention further the letter of the Church of Lyons to Pope Eleutherius (177–192), recommending to him St. Irenæus, who in his youth had listened to Polycarp, who in turn "had conversed familiarly with many who had seen Christ"?[6] Still keeping strictly to apostolic times, we find Rome also the recognised medium of communication between the churches. Hermas, the disciple of St. Paul (Ros. xvi. 14)[7] and the author of the mystical *Pastor*, tells us in one of his *Visions* that the *Church of God*, who appeared to him in the guise of an aged woman, asked him if he had yet delivered her book to the priests (elders, πρεσβυτέροις) of the Church, and then bade him send it to Clement: "for he shall send it to the foreign cities, because it is entrusted to him to do so."[8]

If it be reasonably argued that, to deal with and store up such correspondence as we have mentioned, a secretary and a single case would be more than sufficient, it will

[1] It is generally agreed that the *Babylon* (1 Pet. v. 3) whence St. Peter wrote his first letter was Rome. *Cf.* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 15.

[2] *Cf. ib.*, iii. 4 and 15.

[3] *Ib.*, iii. 16 and 38; iv. 23.

[4] *Ib.*, iv. 14.

[5] *Ib.*, iii. 36.

[6] *Ib.*, v. 4, 5; iv. 14.

[7] *Ib.*, iii. 3.

[8] Lib. i., vis. ii. 4.

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nevertheless have to be acknowledged that the facts which will now be detailed imply that the bishops of Rome must, even before the end of the second century, have employed a number of amanuenses, and must have set aside some place in which to keep the records of the religious, administrative, and financial affairs with which they had to deal. But, given a number of official scribes, and a place in which they can work and keep the implements of their work, and you have a chancellary—possibly of a primitive kind, but still a chancellary.

Writing to Pope Soter (168–177), Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, notes that it was a custom of the Roman Church "from the very beginning" to send contributions "to many churches in every city," and to the brethren condemned to the mines.[1] Considering that Eusebius[2] informs us that the Romans kept up this practice even to the persecution in his own day, and that they also had to provide for the poor at home,[3] it will be obvious that the splendid charity of the Roman Church must of itself have involved a very considerable amount of correspondence. Much notarial work was also required for the collection of the *acts* of the martyrs, and their despatch to other churches,[4] and for the drawing up of the various kinds of *litteræ formatæ* (commendatory or introductory letters) of which St. Paul himself has left us examples, of which there is frequent mention soon after the era of the persecutions, and concerning which the *Liber Pontificalis* would have us believe

[1] Ep. ap. Eusebius, *ib.*, iv. 23. [2] *L.c.*

[3] Pope Cornelius (251–2) estimates "the afflicted and needy" who were supported by the Church at more than 1500, ap. *ib.*, vi. 43.

[4] See the biographies of Popes Anterus and Fabian in the *L. P.*, i. 147 f. In the latter biography we have actual mention of the *notaries* of the Church. It is St. Cyprian who tells us (ep. 3, ap. *P. L.* t. 4, p. 229) of the sending by the Roman clergy of the *acts* of Popes Fabian and Sixtus II. to the Church of Carthage.

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that Pope St. Sixtus I. issued a decree.[1] The great controversies regarding Easter and heretical baptism caused a large number of letters to be expedited and received by the Roman Church.[2] Without going into more minute details, we may then safely assert that, even before the Peace of Constantine, there was in Rome an establishment of some kind which may fairly be called a papal chancellary. And we may be sure that, if it had any elaborate organisation at all, it was modelled on that of the imperial chancellary, as it certainly was in later times. Further, it would seem from what will be said presently of the work of Pope Damasus for the Roman archives, that the early chancellary had its home in connection with the church afterwards known as S. Lorenzo in Damaso in the ninth civil region near the theatre of Pompey.

The medieval chancellary.

The terrible persecution of Diocletian either completely destroyed or wholly disorganised the working machinery of the Roman Church. But when Constantine's edict of toleration brought peace to the universal Church, the feeling of security for life and limb then first experienced by the Christian body, naturally begot a more regular

[1] See, *e.g.*, the last chapter of the letter to the Colossians ; Ep. 10 of Pope Siricius and ep. 15 of Pope Boniface I., ap. Coustant, *Epp. Rom. Pont.*, pp. 697, 1043; and *L. P. in vit. Sixt.*, i. 128. *Cf.* Form. 7, ap. *Liber Diurnus*, ed. Sickel.

[2] Euseb., *ib.*, v. 23, and especially 24, where "many letters" of Victor (192–202) are spoken of. Regarding the letters of Cornelius (251–2), see *ib.*, vi. 43, and of Stephen I., etc., *ib.* vii. 2–5. Among the documents stored up even in the early pontifical chancellary were professions of faith sent by such as had been accused of heresy. *Cf.* Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 24 ; and Rufinus, *Invect. in Hieron.*, i. 44. The latter says that, according to St. Jerome, Origen repented of certain doctrines and "sent a document to that effect to Fabian, who was at that time bishop of the city of Rome." As bearing on the matter of the text, it may be noted that Origen alone employed seven shorthand writers and seven copyists, besides a number of girls "who were skilled in more elegant penmanship." Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 23. The Church of Rome may well have employed as many.

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intercourse between its head and members, and consequently threw an increased epistolary burden upon the Holy See. This was met not merely by the immediate re-establishment of such a chancellary as the Popes possessed during the epoch of the persecutions, but, in a very short time, by the foundation of a more effective one, more completely modelled on that of the Empire. This was the more necessary as Constantine and his successors entrusted various civil powers to the Catholic bishops which must have involved considerable work with written documents. Already under Pope Julius (337–352) we find formal mention of the papal chancellary and an indication of the various classes of work transacted by it, and of its officials and their chief, "the *primicerius* of the notaries," who, as time went on, was to become the chief minister of the Popes.[1] Not many years later, Pope Damasus

[1] "Hic constitutum fecit ut nullus clericus causam quamlibet in publico ageret nisi in ecclesia (this was the renewal of an old regulation forbidding clerics to carry their lawsuits to the civil tribunals; *cf. L. P.*, i. p. 190, n. 23), et notitia quæ omnibus pro fide ecclesiastica est, per *notarios* colligeretur, et omnia monumenta (=omnium munimentorum) in ecclesia per *primicerium notariorum* confectio celebraretur, sive cautiones, vel extrumenta aut donationes vel commutationes vel traditiones vel testamenta vel allegationes aut manumissiones, clerici in ecclesia *per scrinium sanctum* celebrarentur." *L. P., in vit. Julii*, i. 205. Here we have mention of wills, deeds of gift, manumissions of slaves, securities of one kind or another, especially episcopal pledges of obedience to Rome (*cautiones*); *cf. cautio episcopi*, formula 74, ap. *Liber Diurnus*, ed. Sickel, pp. 74–9. Other formulas in the same collection speak of scribes and a *scrinium* or *arcivum* (sic) where the work of the scribe was kept: "scriniarii S. N. E. or scr. sedis nostræ; ecclesiasticum nostrum scrinium, or scr. S. Apost. sedis, or arcivum d. n. s. R. E., silicet sacrum Lateranense scrin." The *Liber D.* contains formulas of various centuries up to the seventh. Treating of the installation of a notary (*scriniarius*), the *Liber Censuum* lays down that, after the candidate's knowledge and character have been examined by the cardinals, he must take the following oath: "I will not draw up public deeds except with the consent of both parties. And if by chance a forged document comes into my hands, I will destroy it,

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(336–384) built at the apse of the church that still bears his name (S. Lorenzo in Damaso) a new home for the scribes and librarians of the Roman Church.[1] Here with their books and papers they remained till perhaps about the fifth century, when they themselves and the implements of their work were translated to the Lateran.

This "chartulary of the Roman See," as St. Jerome calls it, in which might be read the letters of the Popes,[2] was even in the time of Pope Damasus most busy. It had to answer "synodal questions addressed to the Holy See from East and West."[3] Henceforth there is frequent mention of the *archivum* or *chartarium* or *serinium* of the Roman Church, and of the papal letters to be found therein.[4]

except in case of danger to my person." Thereupon the Pope hands him a pen and ink saying: "Receive the power of drawing up public deeds according to the laws and good morals," i. p. 419, ed Fabre. The same document gives a number of regulations issued by the chancellary anent the drawing up and presentation of petitions, ap. *ib.*, p. 461 f.; *e.g.*, "Nullus notarius, bullator, breviator aut scriptor petitiones aliquas promovendas assumat nisi . . . specialium amicorum, quas tamen non alii quam d. papæ offerat admittendas." "Petitiones autem humilium et maxime miserabilium personarum *libere* porrigat." Another very interesting regulation concerns the drawing up and despatch of the answer to a request: "As soon as the notary has received the corrected draft (*notas correctas*), he must write out the letter at once, seal it, and despatch it without delay."

[1] At the entrance of the church an inscription set forth that the Pope built a new place for the archives, "archibis fateor volui nova condere tecta," ap. *L. P.*, i. 213; and a profession of faith issued by the same Pope states in connection with the signatures of 146 Eastern bishops: "hodie in archivis R. E. tene(n)tur." Ap. Coustant, *Epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 500.

[2] *Apol. adv. Ruf.*, iii. 20. *Cf. L. P.*, i. 216, *in vit. Siric.*

[3] St. Jerome, ep. 130, n. 10.

[4] Epp. of Innocent I. (412) and Boniface I. (419), ap. Coustant, *l.c.*, pp. 817, 1019. St. Gregory I. speaks of "archivum hujus nostræ ecclesiæ" (Ep. viii. 28 (29)), of "scrinium S. sedis apostolicæ" (*Regest.*, Append. III., 2, ii. p. 446, ed. *M. G. Epp.*, ii.), and of its customs "more scrinii nostri" (Ep. ix. 166 al. iii. 64, etc.), and, over and over again, of the notaries and their *schola*.

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There is specific evidence that, as early as the days of Pope Gelasius I. (492–496), certain letters of the Popes were not merely preserved in any kind of order, but that they were regularly registered in books more or less in chronological order, *i.e.*, that they were formed into *Regesta*.[1]

It was also in the days of the same Pope Gelasius that the officials of the papal chancellary dealt with the revenues of the Holy See in a similar manner to that in which they dealt with its letters. They made *regesta* of the latter, and compiled *polyptici*, or revenue-account books, for the former. John the Deacon assures us that St. Gregory I. calculated his quarterly payments to the clergy secular and regular, and to charities within and without the city of Rome, "on the *polypticus* of Pope Gelasius."[2] It was also from the chancellary that was issued to the *defensors* their *breve patrimonii* or schedule of all the properties committed to their charge.[3]

The customs of the papal chancellary.

There is no need to continue adducing evidence of the existence of a papal chancellary and of its activity after the peace of Constantine. The letters of St. Gregory I. require no supplementing in this respect; but from them and from other sources a few interesting particulars of the usages of the establishment may be culled.

[1] Deusdedit, the eleventh-century canonist, cites the *Regestum* of Gelasius (*Collect. can.*, ii. 40, p. 189, ed. Martinucci), and the collection of canons found by Mr. Bishop (*supra*, vol. iii. p. 233) gives us twenty-eight extracts from it. On the papal *Registers*, *cf. supra*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 304 ff.

[2] "Cunctorum patrimoniorum prædiorumque reditus ex Gelasiano polyptyco . . . adæravit, eorumque pensionibus, in auro argentoque collatis, omnibus ordinibus ecclesiasticis vel palatinis, monasteriis ecclesiis, cœmeteriis, diaconiis, xenodochiis urbanis vel suburbanis, quot solidi singulis quater in anno distribuerentur . . . per polyptychum, quo hactenus erogatur, indixit." John, *in vit. Greg.*, ii. 24. John says that Gregory's *polypticus* was still in existence in his time: "Chartaceum prægrande volumen." *Ib.*, ii. 30.

[3] Deusdedit, *l.c.*, iii. 111, p. 291; Ep. S. Greg. I., xiv. 14.

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Its writing materials.

Till the beginning of the eleventh century the documents issued by the papal notaries were almost invariably written on strips of papyrus from one to several yards in length.[1] So regular was this custom that, if by any chance a letter was despatched by them written on parchment, they were careful to draw special attention to the fact, in order to prevent correspondents from supposing that the document was a forgery.[2] After the middle of the eleventh century the papal letters were engrossed on parchment, though after the return of the Popes from Avignon in the second half of the fourteenth century a strong linen paper was used for the first copy of the letters which were to be preserved in the papal archives.

Its style of penmanship.

For many centuries the letters of the Popes were, like other ancient documents, written out in the large round characters known as uncial. But in the seventh century a new type of character was introduced from Lombardy. It was known as the *littera Romana*, and was used by the papal scribes till the twelfth century, though they were gradually altering it into the Roman *minuscule* or small cursive hand which they then adopted.

The seals (bulls).

To attest the authenticity of the letters which they

[1] Cabrol, *Diction. d'archéol.*, sub voce "chancellerie," opposite p. 204, gives a facsimile of a letter of Pope Hadrian I. (*c.* 788) on papyrus. We have used this article very freely, though not without verifying every reference we have taken from it. It cannot have been an invariable rule to use papyrus. Alexander III., in dealing with a supposed bull of Pope Zachary, says it was obviously a forgery, because the parchment was barely a hundred years old, instead of being four hundred years as it ought to have been if it were a bull of Pope Zachary. He does not say that it was a forgery because it was not written on papyrus. He condemns the "privilegium Zachariæ propter stilum dictaminis . . . et propter pergamenum etiam, quod vix centum videbatur esse annorum, cum quadrigentorum annorum . . . spatium decurrerit, quod idem Zacharias decessit." Ep. Alex. III., ap. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pontif. Rom. inedita*, iii. p. 228, Stuttgart, 1886.

[2] *Cf.* ep. 4 of Pope John X., ap. *P. L.*, t. 132.

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issued, the notaries of the papal chancellary attached to them a stamped leaden seal, *i.e.*, a *bulla*.[1] One of our northern historians, Hugh the Cantor,[2] states that the Romans of his day (1123) asserted that Blessed Gregory (590–604) introduced this custom, and that some of his privileges, sealed with the leaden *bulla*, were still preserved in the Roman Church. This assertion is supported by the fact that *bullæ*, or authentic copies of them, are in existence which go back not merely to the beginning of the seventh century, but even into the sixth.[3] It would seem that, in the thirteenth century at least, letters addressed to the interested parties with the object of asserting their rights had their *bullæ* fastened to them by pieces of silk, but that the *bullæ* of mandatary letters were attached with threads of hemp.[4] About the following century, as it would seem, the papal letters themselves began to be popularly styled *bullæ* (bulls) from the seals affixed to them; but it appears that they have never been so designated officially.[5] As we have already noted, papal letters up to the days of Alexander III. were all open or *patent*, but after his time the less important ones were often folded, and were known as *close* letters.[6]

[1] *Cf.* a bull of Benedict VIII., December 27, 1019, ap. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pont. Rom. ined.*, ii. p. 63: "Ut hæc nostra concessio firma in perpetuum maneat, *bulla* nostra et sigillo eam signari præcipimus"; and another of Leo VIII. in 938: "hanc signi nostri bulla facimus insigniri," ap. *ib.*, i. 6. There is an interesting bull of Alexander in which he declared a supposed bull of Leo IX. to be a forgery because the *bulla* attached to it was not like the *bullæ* of that Pope which were laid before him. Bull of June 19, 1171, ap. *ib.*, iii. 228. Before the sixth century, and occasionally after it, the Popes used wax for their seals.

[2] In his *Life* of Archbishop Thurstan, ap. *Historians of the Church of York*, ii. p. 204, R. S.

[3] *Cf.* Cabrol, *l.c.*, p. 203 f.

[4] *Cf. supra*, vol. vi p 168, n. 1, where for *chauvre* read *chanvre*.

[5] Cabrol, *l.c.*, p. 201.

[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 2.

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I

II

III

Earliest known leaden Bullae of the Popes.

I. Bulla of Deusdedit (or Adeodatus) I., 615-619.
II. and III. Bullae of Boniface V., 619-625.

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Its manner of dating letters.

The earliest papal letters were dated according to consulships. At the end of the fifth century the *indiction* appears; and by the middle of the next century the years of the reign of the Byzantine emperor. But, after the year 726, the emperor's name does not always appear, and after 772 it disappears altogether,[1] and is replaced by the years of the Pope's pontificate. With Charlemagne's creation as emperor (800), the Popes again use the years of the emperor to date their letters; but, after Benedict IX. (1033–1048), they have never used the name of any temporal ruler for that purpose. Under John XIII. (965–972), several bulls were issued dated by the years of our Lord. After the reign of St. Leo IX. this usage became frequent, but not regular till after the time of Eugenius IV.

At first the name of the Pope was made to follow that of his correspondent; but after the tenth century it was always put first,[2] and was normally followed, since the ninth century, by the title of "servant of the servants of God."

The *stylus curiæ*.

In order now to introduce the special service rendered by Albert de Morra to the papal chancellary, a few words must be said on the *cursus*.[3] In classical times there were not wanting critics of style to point out that, in order to render the close of a clause or sentence pleasing to the ear,

[1] *Cf.* Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vii. 253, viii. 55 n.

[2] For more minute details regarding the usages of the papal chancellary, see Rodolico, *Note paleografiche e diplomatiche sul privilegio pontificio*, Bologna; Mas Latrie, *Les éléments de la diplomatique pontificale*, ap. *Revue des Quest. histor.*, tt. 40 and 41, 1886–7.

[3] Besides the authorities on this subject cited below, see the important article of A. Gabrielli, *L' epistole di Cola di Rienzo e l' epistolografia medievale*, in *Archivio della Soc. Rom. di storia patria*, vol. xi. (1888), pp. 379–479; and L. Couture, "Le *cursus* dans la liturgie et la litterature de l'église Latine du iiie siècle à la Renaissance," ap. *Revue des Quest. histor.*, January 1892, p. 253 ff. He has shown that the *cursus* was regularly used in the composition of liturgical prayers from the time of Pope St. Leo I. to the end of the Middle Ages.

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it was necessary to observe a certain order of long and short syllables, *i.e.*, to follow a certain metrical arrangement. If this was done, the termination of clauses would ring pleasantly—the *cursus* was saved.[1] This "use of metrical cadences in prose for rhetorical effect" is traced to Thrasymachus, the butt of Plato, and was frequently used by the ancients.

As time went on, less and less attention was paid to metrical *length* of syllables, and more and more to stress of the voice, to accent; and hence in the Middle Ages the metrical *cursus*, the metrical arrangement of dactyls and spondees, was replaced by a regular sequence of accented and unaccented syllables,—by the rhythmical *cursus*.[2]

History of the *cursus*.

The Fathers of the Church and the Popes naturally conformed to the ideas of beauty of style prevalent in their day, and observed, for the most part, first the metrical, and, later, the rhythmical, *cursus*. Pope Leo the Great was very careful in his written compositions to give his clauses the artistic finish of the *cursus*, and so it came to pass that, in the Middle Ages, those who paid attention to style recommended the observance of the *Leonine cursus*.

From the fourth century, then, till the seventh the *cursus* was practised in the papal chancellary; and, generally speaking, the *cursus* was classical or metrical.[3] During

[1] Quintilian, *Instit. Orator.*, ix. 470, cited by Vacandard, *Le cursus, son origine, son hist., son emploi dans la liturgie*, p. 60, ap. *Revue des Quest. hist.*, July 1905. On p. 59 the abbé gives a bibliography of this curious subject. See also Clark, *The Cursus in Mediæval and Vulgar Latin*, Oxford, 1910.

[2] Hence "dactyls and spondees" received new meanings. Any word accented on the penultimate became a spondee, and any word accented on the antepenultimate became a dactyl. The letters to Atticus show that even Cicero used the rhythmical as well as the metrical *cursus*.

[3] "Libĕrĭŭs dēlĕctārĭ, præcĭpĭtĭ vŏlŭntātĕ, judĭcĭŏ cŏmprŏbārĭ," are typical examples of the terminations of sentences in early papal docu-

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most of the seventh and eighth centuries till the Carolingian Renaissance the cultured habits of the pontifical notaries disappeared under the stress of Lombard roughness. With the anarchy of the tenth century the ordered march of the *cursus* suffered the same fate as every other kind of order. But, under the vivifying hand of Hildebrand, dignity returned to the chancellary of the Popes. Gregory's second successor, Urban II., named a certain John of Gæta (afterwards Gelasius II.) his chancellor, in order especially that "he might reintroduce the *Leonine cursus* into the papal letters"; for it was known that he was the disciple of Alberic of Monte Cassino (fl. 1075–1110), who had written an *Ars dictandi*[1] to improve the art of letter-writing.

The work of Albert de Morra.

When, then, Albert de Morra became chancellor of the Roman Church (1178–1187), not only did he further that development of rhythmical style in the papal letters which had once again renewed its youth at the close of the eleventh century,[2] but he published a set of rules in order to guide the apostolic notaries in their efforts to render the papal bulls pleasingly sonorous. This was all the more desirable because, as we have noted, they were destined in almost every case, sooner or later, to be read up aloud. The effect of the teaching and writings of Albert on the pontifical chancellary was so great that its peculiar style came to be known after him as the *stylus Gregorianus*, and served as the model of epistolary correspondence throughout Europe.[3]

ments. They are taken from a letter of Pope Siricius (385–98), and illustrative of the so-called *cursus velox*. "The sermons of Pope Leo I. are rhythmical," Clark, p. 12.

[1] It was called: *Breviarium de dictamine.*

[2] *Cf. supra*, vol. vii. p. 263; viii. p. 123 ff.

[3] "Celebris est et gloriosa Romana Curia, . . . velut ex fonte rivuli, tam rerum omnium faciendarum quam tenendarum jura et dogmata derivantur, usque scilicet ad speciem ornati dictaminis et decorem, in

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After, therefore, the *dictatores*, Albert[1] and his disciple Transmond, had issued their rules for the *cursus*, "a new era opened for the papal chancellary" under Innocent III., and the rhythmical style of the papal letters became so perfect that the absence of it is enough to detect a forgery or a false reading. Fĭĕrĭ nón vălébăt (*cursus velox*), predecessórŭm sŭórŭm (*cursus planus* or *ordinary*), and póssĕt sŭppónĕrĕ (*cursus tardus*) are examples from a letter of Innocent III. of the only three kinds of accented conclusions to clauses or sentences which were tolerated in the papal chancellary of the thirteenth century.

The details of Albert's rules[2] cannot be given here. We may, however, note that the masters (*dictatores*) of elegant diction in the thirteenth century were very anxious to avoid what they regarded as undignified haste in composition, and they were, therefore, very cautious in their use of what they understood by the *dactyl*, viz., *any* word (*dictio*) of three syllables the penultimate of which was short.

The systematic use of these regular cadences in pontifical bulls declined with nearly everything else which was of value in the fourteenth century, and they continued to be less and less employed till the close of the sixteenth century, when they ceased to be used at all. "The renaissance of classical learning was fatal to the epistolary ideas of the Middle Ages."

quo et per quod totius litteratorum professionis noscitur florere facilitas, et omne bonum in publicum et in lucem se erigit clariorem." Thomas of Capua, himself a *dictator*, †1243, ap. Hahn, *Collectio mon. vet.*, i. 270, ap. Valois, p. 174.

[1] *Forma dictandi quam Rome notarios instituit magister Albertus, qui et Gregorius VIII. Papa.* See the Latin MS. 2820 in the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris.

[2] Less attention was always paid to them in *privileges* than in letters strictly so called; nor was any attention paid to the *cursus* in the address of the letters. Clark (p. 17) notes that Albert's general theory is that "finales dictiones semper debet quasi pes dactilus antecurrere."

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One result of the scrupulous use of the *cursus* was to render the papal letters prolix and involved. But these defects were thought to be more than compensated by the harmonious elegance of sound which employment of the *cursus* imparted to them, and by the difficulty which its imitation presented to the forger in his attempts to copy the productions of the papal chancellary.[1]

The local Roman Church, constitution of.

To lead up to the work of Albert de Morra in the papal chancellary, it was thought desirable briefly to sketch the history of that institution. It may now perhaps be permissible again to interrupt the narrative of Albert's career in order to give an idea of the constitution in his time of that Roman Church of which he was so distinguished a member. The survival to our own days of several contemporary documents treating of it must serve as the reason for this second excursus.

Two writers, John the Deacon and Peter Mallius, dedicated to Alexander III. accounts of the Lateran basilica and of St. Peter's[2] respectively. Both of them have left us notices of the constitution of the Roman Church.

Cardinal-bishops.

Following the order of John the Deacon, we have to note in the first instance that there were seven cardinal-bishops, and that they were attached to the Lateran basilica in order that in turn they might in the Pope's place celebrate Mass at the chief altar week by week.[3] They divided, we

[1] Celestine III. (1191–98) notes that forged papal bulls can be known "qualitate styli," Jaffé, 17,645. All this and much more on the *cursus* the reader will find ap. Valois, *Étude sur le rythme des bulles pontificales* in the *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, 1881, p. 161 ff.

[2] John the Deacon, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1379 ff., or ap. *ib.*, t. 194. Peter M., ap. *ib.*, t. 78, p. 1057 ff. (extracts), or ap. *Acta SS.*, Jun., t. vii. p. 54 ff. in full. The work of John as printed in Migne, t. 78, contains later additions, as mention is made in it of Alexander IV. (1260), p. 1383, and even of Boniface VIII., p. 1388.

[3] "Septem cardinales episcopi primæ sedis . . . ad altare dominicum . . . vice apostolici celebrare debent quotidie." John. The seven

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are told, the offerings with the canons of the basilica, and returned to their sees when their week was over to await the recurrence of their turn.[1] The authority just cited, after enumerating the bishop of Ostia as one of the Pope's vicars, adds that it is his duty to consecrate the Pope; and the *Liber Pontificalis* assures us that it was Pope Mark (336) who authorised that bishop to wear the pallium in view of this privilege.

Cardinal-priests.

In addition to the cardinal-bishops were twenty-eight cardinal-priests, divided into four groups of seven each, connected respectively with St. Mary Major's, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. Lawrence's outside the-walls.[2]

Cardinal-deacons.

The deaconries, eighteen in number, were presided over by as many cardinal-deacons, of whom the chief was the

bishops were those of Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina (or Silva Candida), Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, Prænestе. Since the union of the sees of Porto and St. Rufina, the number of cardinal-bishops has been reduced to six. As early as the reign of Stephen (III.) IV., 768–772, it was decreed: "ut omni dominico die a septem episcopis cardinalibus ebdomadariis, qui in ecclesia Salvatoris (the Lateran) observant, missarum solemnia super altare B. Petri celebraretur." *L. P.*, sub *vit. Steph.*, i. 478.

[1] This is stated by John, c. 8, and in a notice of the Roman Church which Muratori ascribes to a chronicle by Richard of Cluny. *Antiq. Italicæ medii ævi*, iv. p. 1112, ed. Milan, 1741.

[2] Attached to St. Mary Major's were the following *titles*: SS. XII Apostoli, St. Cyriacus in Thermas (of Diocletian), St. Eusebius, St. Pudentiana, St. Vitalis, SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and St. Clement; to St. Peter's: S. Maria in Trastevere, St. Chrysogonus, St. Cecily, St. Anastasia, St. Lawrence in Damaso, St. Mark, and SS. Silvester and Martin (S. Martino ai Monti); to St. Paul's: St. Sabina, St. Prisca (SS. Aquila and Prisca), SS. Nereus and Achilleus, St. Sixtus, St. Marcellus, St. Susanna, and St. Balbina; to St. Lawrence's: St. Praxedis, St. Peter ad Vincula, St. Lawrence in Lucina, S. Croce, St. Stephen in Cælio Monte, SS. John and Paul, and the SS. Quatuor Coronati. Both John the D. and Peter Mallius give St. Lawrence *in Lucina*; and Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 291, ed. 1891, says it is to-day the first title of the cardinal-priests. Hence Cristofori, *Storia dei Cardinali*, must be mistaken in giving S. Lorenzo *in Pane e Perna* instead of S. Lorenzo *in Lucina* as the titular Church.

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archdeacon of S. Maria in Domnica.[1] Of these eighteen deacons, twelve are described as Regionary, and six as Palatine. The members of the first group sang the Gospel at the "stations," those of the second at the Lateran; all of them were canons of the Lateran, and are set down as having the right of sitting in judgment over all the Western bishops in all synods or councils.[2]

Cardinal-sub-deacons.

There were also twenty-one subdeacons. Of these seven being Regionary were assigned to the seven ecclesiastical divisions of Rome. They were appointed to sing the Epistle and lessons at the "stations." Seven more were Palatine, and were attached to the Lateran, and the remaining seven formed the *Schola Cantorum*, which only sang when the Pope himself celebrated.[3] It was also the duty of the Palatine subdeacons to read the epistle when the Pope dined—"ad prandium Domni Apostolici," and in company with the other cardinals to assist the Pope whenever he said Mass.[3]

There are also in the Roman Church, concludes the

[1] The remaining seventeen were St. Lucy "in Circo juxta Septem solia (Septizonium)"; S. Maria Nova, SS. Cosmas and Damian, St. Hadrian (al Foro), SS. Sergius and Bacchus, St. Theodore, St. George (in Velabro), S. Maria in Schola Græca, S. Maria in Portica, St. Nicholas in Carcere, S. Angelo (in Pescheria), St. Eustachius, S. Maria in Aquiro, S. Maria in Via Lata, St. Agatha in Equo marmoreo (de Caballo, dei Goti, or in Capite Suburræ), St. Lucy (in Selci, in Orfea, in Capite Suburræ, in Siricata, or inter imagines); and, according to the best list, St. Vitus *in macello*, near the arch of Gallienus, and the Macellum Liviæ, and now known as SS. Vito e Modesto, or S. Vito ad Lunam. *Cf. L. P., in vit. Leo. III.*, ii. pp. 12 and 21.

[2] *Cf.* John the D. (c. 8), or the list assigned to Richard of Cluny: "Qui (the deacons) potestatem habent judicium faciendi super omnes episcopos totius Romani imperii in omnibus conciliis vel synodis."

[3] *Ib.* With this description of the Roman Church in the twelfth century, it is interesting to compare that of Pope Cornelius in the year 251. According to the Pope, there were in that year in Rome 46 priests, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, and 52 exorcists, readers and doorkeepers. Ep. Corn., ap. Coustant, *Epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 150.

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description of it said to have been written by Richard of Cluny, "acolytes (*acolythi præsentes, idest ceroferarii*, candle-bearers), readers, exorcists, doorkeepers, each of whom endeavours to fulfil his duties as they have been prescribed by his superiors."[1]

The civil officials of the Roman Church.

Turning now to the civil side of the Roman Church, we find the following statements in John the Deacon:[2] "In the Roman Empire and in the Roman Church of to-day there are seven Palatine judges, who are known as *Ordinarii*, who assist at the consecration of the emperor (*qui ordinant imperatorem*), and who, with the Roman clergy, elect the Pope." Other judges are called *Consulares*, and are apportioned to circuits (*distributi per judicatus*); and others again, created by the consuls, are known as *Pedanei*. The names of the Palatine judges are as follows:— The first and second are the Primicerius and Secundicerius (of the notaries), and take their name from their office. Standing on the right hand and on the left of the emperor they seem in a sense to reign with him, for without them the emperor cannot issue any important decree (*aliquid magnum constituere*). Moreover, in the Roman Church in all processions they take precedence of the bishops and of the other magnates, both in the matter of escorting the Pope, and, on the greater feasts, of reading the eighth lesson. The third is the Arcarius (treasurer), the chief of the papal exchequer (*qui præest tributis*); the fourth is the Saccellarius (paymaster), who gives their pay to the soldiers, and in Rome on the Saturday of the scrutinies (*Sabbato scrutiniorum*)[3] distributes alms, and bestows their stipends (*presbyteria*) on the bishop's clergy and on the

[1] *Cf. supra*, note 3, p. 331.

[2] *P.L.*, t. 78, p. 1388.

[3] The *dies scrutinii* (Migne prints by mistake *scutiniorum*) were the days on which the catechumens were examined, generally in the third and fourth week of Lent.

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civil functionaries (*ordinariis*);[1] the fifth is the Protoscriniarius, who presides over the notaries (*scriniarii*), who are called *tabelliones* (scriveners); the sixth is the Primus Defensor or chief of the defensors or advocates; and the seventh is the Adminiculator, whose duty it is to watch over the interests of orphans and widows, of those in distress, and of captives. These officials, says John the Deacon, have no criminal jurisdiction, nor do they ever pronounce a capital sentence. This is done by the judges who are called consuls, who punish offenders according to the degree of their guilt.

General high opinion of the character of Gregory VIII.

When it became known that the amiable[2] and literary chancellor had been elected Pope, many were highly delighted. They expected much from his known prudence and singleness of purpose.[3] Men who preferred peace to all things rejoiced at his accession; and men of letters lost no time in dedicating their works to one whose pacific

[1] *Cf. Ordo Romanus XII.* of Cencius Camerarius (Honorius III.), xix. n. 42 ff. (ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1063 ff., or ap. *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. p. 290 ff.), for the amounts disbursed by the *saccellarius*.

[2] The case of Peter, bishop of Toul, recorded by the *Gesta Trever., Contin. III.*, c. 11, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv., shows how ready he was to take the merciful view in a case.

[3] Our own King Henry spoke of him as "probatæ discretionis et religionis virum." Ep. Hen., ap. *epp. Cantuar.*, p. 48, R. S.; Robert of Auxerre (*Chron.*, an. 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 252) calls him "vir litteratura facundiaque clarus, sed puritate vite et animi integritate præclarior, suique corporis vehemens castigator," and adds that the Emperor Frederick knew him as: "virum discretum et justicie zelatorem." Abbot Peter de la Celle expressed to him his very high opinion of his "sancta conversatio" when, as chancellor, he was holding "the second place after the Pope." He regarded Albert as the greatest of the cardinals at the Lateran council of Alexander III. *Cf.* epp. 88 *b* and 89 al. viii. 13 and 14, ap. *P. L.*, t. 202. The Chronicles speak to the same effect; *e.g.*, *Chron. Laud.*, an. 1186: "Vir magne sanctitatis et laudabilis parsimonie; in omnibus actibus suis religiosus fuit"; and the *Annales Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 349: "Vir summe religionis et magne castitatis." *Cf.* Richard of Poitiers, *Chron.*, 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. 85.

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character they felt assured would bring leisure for reading and writing. The historian Godfrey of Viterbo, whom we have frequently quoted, at once dedicated his *Pantheon* to the new Pope. In his preface he observes that "as the Roman Church is recognised to stand above all the princes of the earth, so it is desirable that they and all the churches of the world should be adorned by its authoritative teaching (*doctrina ejus et regimine*), . . . inasmuch as there is no pure doctrine to be given to the thirsty which is not drawn from the springs of its wisdom. Wherefore, if anyone composes a new history, right reason suggests that, before it be submitted to the public, it should be presented for papal examination. Then, if it be thought worthy, it may receive approbation and authority from him to whom all things in heaven and on earth have been committed by God. Wherefore, most revered father, do I present this little work of mine . . . to your favour . . . that it may receive the amendment or the approbation of the holy Roman Church."[1]

Reception of the Imperial envoys.

Gregory's first object was to make it known that he intended to devote his attention solely to the internal reform of the Church and to the Crusades. He saw, says Robert of Auxerre,[2] that the vineyard of the Lord was being devastated "by ambition and avarice, and by luxury and heresy," and he was more anxious by spiritual means to restore all things in Christ than by contentious methods to strive even for the just temporal rights of the Holy See.[3]

[1] Prœmium, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 131. Ralph Niger, *Chron. I.*, p. 94, ed. Anstruther, notes that he could not be influenced by money in the performance of his duties.

[2] *I.c.*

[3] "Ad restaurandam R. ecclesiam et ab obprobriis liberandam animam intendit. In primis itaque omnia que Romani imperii jure essent eidem regi concedere spopondit, affirmans non esse tutum pape . . . arma capere . . . set tantum . . . laudes D. N. J. Christo . . . reddendas." *Ann. Rom.*, *l.c.* The imperialistic leanings of the author of these Annals must be kept in sight.

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Accordingly, when he received the imperial envoys whom Frederick had despatched to his predecessor, he made known to them that peace was his object, that the papal claims would not be pushed, and that all question of excommunicating the emperor was at an end.[1] "A son of peace was he," exclaims a German contemporary historian, "an Israelite in whom there was no guile."[2]

Goodwill of the emperor towards Gregory.

The pacific attitude of the Pope, and the emperor's own wish for peace, as he was now really anxious to proceed to the Holy Land, smoothed away all difficulties. Frederick at once commissioned his lieutenants, especially Leo de Monumento,[3] "the worthy consul of the Romans," and Count Anselm, to see to it that the Pope and the Roman curia might be able to journey anywhere throughout the Empire in full security, and that their travelling expenses were defrayed from the imperial treasury.[4]

[1] Ep. 18 to Frederick, November 29, Parma. *Cf* epp. 19, 20. In the latter letter especially he urges that the whole of Christendom is in trouble owing to the loss of Jerusalem; and that, as the misfortune can only be remedied by the help "of the great princes," certain conduct of theirs must be for the present overlooked.

[2] *Ann. Magdeburg.*, an. 1187, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 195.

[3] "Leo de Monumento, Romanus Princeps, with eighteen followers," is mentioned by the *Chron. Altinate*, l. v. p. 183, ed. Rossi, as having been present at the great Peace of Venice (1177). Between the Via Appia and the Via Latina in the Roman Campagna, some five miles from Rome, are two groups of ruins, the Sette Bassi and the Villa Quintiliana, not far from each other, and popularly known from their size as Roma Vecchia. The family "de Monumento" appear to have taken their name from an ancient monument in this locality, for we find Honorius III. granting to the monastery of S. Tommaso in Formis on the Cœlian "turrim quæ dicitur Monumentum" in this neighbourhood. *Cf. Bullar. Basil. Vatican*, i. p. 100. Neither Pressutti nor Horoy give the bull in full. The name is of frequent occurrence in the documents of the thirteenth century; *e.g.*, a Count Octavian de Monumento appears in a letter of Honorius III., April 5, 1226, ap. Pressutti, *Reg. Hon.*, ii. 414.

[4] Rob. of Auxerre, *l.c.*, "ei . . . de fisco proprio victualia ministrare." *Cf. Ann. Rom.*, *l.c.*

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Gregory's labours for the crusade.

No sooner had the Pope secured Frederick's goodwill by his tacit undertaking not to pursue the vexed questions which were agitating the Papacy and the Empire on his accession, than he devoted himself with his whole soul to rousing Christendom to make a supreme effort to recover the Holy Sepulchre. He first turned to those around him, and, fired by his zeal, the cardinals pledged themselves no more to think of wealth and luxury, but to take the cross themselves and to devote themselves to inducing others to do likewise. They further engaged not to receive presents from litigants, and not to mount a horse "so long as the land on which the Lord's foot had trod should be under the feet of the enemy."[1] With the consent of the Pope they also proclaimed a general truce for seven years, on the understanding that anyone who violated it was to be "subject to the curse of God, and of our lord the Pope, and to the excommunication of all the prelates of the Universal Church."[2]

Gregory next applied himself to rousing the whole of Christendom; for he was broken-hearted at the alarming loss of prestige which the fall of Jerusalem brought on the Christian name.[3] Even before he was consecrated he addressed a letter to all the faithful of Christ. He told them of the disasters which had overwhelmed the Christians of Palestine, and exhorted them to take the cross, while warning them at the same time not to set out with luxurious appointments, but in such guise as would show

[1] Ep. 219 of Peter of Blois to Henry II., ap. *P. L.*, t. 207. It is also quoted by Benedict of Pet., ii. 15.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] "Enormem Christiani nominis jacturam inconsolabiliter deploravit." Will. of Newburgh, *Hist.*, iii. 21. We give this quotation to show that the Popes never lost sight of the political bearings of the advance of the Turks. *Cf.* Ansbert, *De exped. Frid. imp.*, c. 12, who took part in the expedition.

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forth the sorrow of their hearts.[1] As soon as he was consecrated, in notifying his election to the German prelates, he urged them to work themselves for the liberation of the Holy Land, and to move the emperor, the nobles, "and all the people of the Teutonic kingdom" to do likewise.[2] He then issued letter after letter on the same subject to all the nations of Christendom, conjuring the people to march to the succour of the Holy Land, because such a course was prompted by the dictates not only of faith, but "of our common humanity. For," insisted Gregory, "every person of ordinary discretion is well able to estimate both the greatness of the danger and the fierceness of the barbarians who thirst for Christian blood, who exert all their strength in profaning the holy places, and who use all their endeavours to sweep away the name of God from off the earth."[3] He earnestly exhorted all to repent of their sins, and to cease from dissensions lest the little of the Holy Land that was still left to the Christians might be lost, and the enemy might be then able to turn their forces against other nations.[4] Finally, to those, "who with a contrite heart and humble spirit" should undertake "the labour of this journey, and who should die in true repentance for their sins and in the true faith," he offered a plenary indulgence and life eternal, and, whether they lived

[1] Jaffé, 16,013, October 24. *Cf.* his decree against luxury in dress either on the part of the clergy or of the laity. The clergy were not to wear coloured garments or silk, or rings except bishops "qui habeat hoc ex officio." Men were not to wear "incisas vestes ab inferiori," nor women "trains," "vestibus proprii corporis longitudinem excedentibus." Ep. 23.

[2] Ep. 1, October 27.

[3] Ep. 4, October 29, Ferrara. "Ut profanare sancta, et titulum Dei valeant auferre de terra." By "*titulum* Dei" the Pope no doubt referred to the Trinity, *i.e.*, the full title of God, as he cannot have been unaware of the fact that the Moslems recognised one God.

[4] *Ib.* It will be noticed that the Pope took a sound political as well as religious view of the situation.

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or died, a remission of all penances imposed upon them for the sins they had confessed.

He next enjoined that "for the next five years" all should fast on Fridays, and that all in good health should abstain from flesh meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In addition the Pope prescribed "for ourself and our brethren" an extra abstinence day on Mondays,[1] and certain prayers which had to be recited everywhere.[2] Throughout the all too brief period of his pontificate he bewailed, so we are told,[3] the sad lot of Zion. "'May my eyes,' he cried, 'never cease to shed tears both by day and by night; for the daughter of my people has been cruelly wounded.' To the very end of his life he would not suffer himself to be consoled, because the sins of his children had caused them to be led captive."

Gregory journeys to Pisa.

Whilst the papal chancellary was hard at work sending copies of Gregory's encyclicals in all directions,[4] and after he had himself commissioned legates to the different countries to preach the Crusade,[5] and, for the despatch of business, had confirmed all that his predecessor had decided within the last three months of his life,[6] and had forbidden any trifling appeals to be carried to him,[7] he left Ferrara about the middle of November. His goal was Pisa. Always a practical man, he was not content with dictating letters. He must be up and doing; he must strive to effect that peace and concord among Christian

[1] Ep. 3. Roger of Hov. quotes both epp. 4 and 3.

[2] William of Andres, *Chron.*, an. 1188, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. 719. William was born in 1177. His useful chronicle extends to 1234.

[3] *Gesta Trev.* [4] *Cf.* Jaffé, 16,034 and 16,057.

[5] *Chron. Sigebert., auct. Nicolai Ambianensis*, an. 1187; *Gesta Trev., Contin. III.*, c. 12, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. 388; Rob. of Auxerre, *l.c.*

[6] Ep. 2. The Canterbury affair was made an exception to this general confirmation. Jaffé, 16,017. *Cf. supra*, p. 301 ff.

[7] Ep. 15. The Pope is too weak to attend to everything: "imbecillitate proprii corporis laborantes."

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peoples for which he had appealed. If he could only make peace between Pisa and Genoa, then almost the greatest maritime powers in Europe, the cause he had so much at heart would be greatly advanced.[1]

On his way to Pisa he held a council at Parma, despatched more letters on the subject of the Crusade,[2] and proceeded to Lucca. Before he left that ancient city he caused the tomb of Octavian (Victor IV.) to be broken open, and, as a warning to others, ordered the bones of the antipope to be cast out of the church in which they had been interred.[3]

Gregory reaches Pisa.

Arrived at Pisa (December 10)—he received a splendid welcome from its people[4]—he lost no time, but invited the great men of Genoa to come to him. They came at his summons, and, through the persuasive eloquence of the Pope, and "reverence for the pontificate," "the work of peace was advancing by his religious labours, and the inveterate hostilities of those warlike peoples were abating," when he was seized with a fever.[5]

Death and sepulchre of Gregory, 1187.

"In a very few days he bade adieu to this world, in order," says our historian, William of Newburgh, "to associate, as we may well believe of so good a man, with the good pastors in heaven" (December 17).[6] The remains of this

[1] *Cf.* Will. of Newburgh, *Hist.*, iii. 22. He notes the great "wealth and mighty power by land and sea" of these two cities.

[2] Jaffé, 16,073.

[3] *Chron. Sig., l.c.*

[4] *Ann. Pisani*, 1186, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 191.

[5] Will. of N., *l.c.* *Cf.* Rob. of Aux., *l.c.*

[6] *L.c.* *Cf. Chron. Sig., l.c.*, which quaintly says: "Morbo correptus Gregorius VIII., qui octo processiones in via habuit, octo hebdomadis sedit, octo diebus morbo laborans vitam finivit, octavam resurrectionis expectans." The blunt French historian Rigord († *c.* 1209), commenting on the rapid succession of Popes at this period, is amusingly uncomplimentary to them, as he can see no cause for it but "their own fault" or the disobedience of their subjects. "Et nota quod tam frequens mutatio summorum pontificum nulla ratione fieri potuit, nisi ex ipsorum culpa et inobedientia subditorum per gratiam Dei redire nolentium." *Gesta Philippi*, c. 55.

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single-minded pontiff were honourably laid to rest in a great sarcophagus of white marble which was placed at the right of the main doorway (Porta Regia) of the cathedral. Unfortunately, this monument perished in the fire of 1600. But in 1658 a painted memorial was set up to keep the remembrance of this zealous Pope fresh until such times as a new and fitting cenotaph could be erected,[1] while at the same time a new inscription was composed.[2]

"This venerable pontiff," according to a contemporary's assertion which we suppose none would now venture to call in question, "was a man really conspicuous for his wisdom and for the sincerity of his life. He was zealous in all things for the glory of God according to knowledge. He, moreover, sharply reprehended certain superstitious customs which without warrant of Holy Scripture the multitude had adopted through the rustic simplicity of certain persons in the Church. For this reason some thoughtless people imagined that his mind was deranged by his excessive abstinence, and thought him insane."[3]

[1] *L. P.*, ii. 451; Novaes, *Elementi della storia de' som. Pont.*, iii. 127.

[2] D. O. M.
Gregorius VIII. Pont. Max. de sancta urbe Jerusalem recuperanda solicitus, summis viribus bellum adornat adversus perduelles. Pisanos Genuensibus conciliaturus Ferraria huc migrat, ut cives, maritimis copiis florentissimos Ecclesiæque fidelissimos, in sacram expeditionem mox sibi conjungat. Magnum facinus invidente morte, Pisis obiit XVII Kal. Jan. A. S. MCXIIIC ingenti cum dolore Christianæ Reip. cui tantam gloriam prospiciens, dies solum præfuit LVII. Residua mortalitatis pignora, hoc ipso loco sepulta, Carnilius Campilia Aedituus, ad redivivam memoriam functo posito lapide veneratur, A. D. MDCLVIII.—Ap. Papebrock in *Propyl. ad tom. Maii* (Acta SS.), par. ii. p. 30.

[3] Will. of New., *l.c.*

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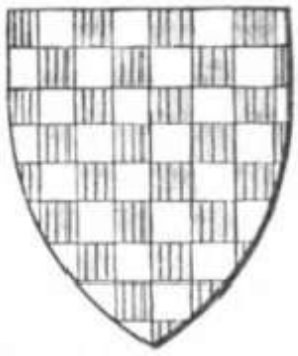

Chequy argent and gules.

CLEMENT III.

A.D. 1187–1191.

Sources.—The letters and decrees of Clement, to the number of over 200, may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 204. They consist as usual for the most of privileges and of answers to cases of conscience, especially to more or less complicated questions concerning matrimony, and hence have rather a local and theological interest than an importance for Clement's biography or for general history. This is no doubt largely due to the loss of his original register. After February 1188 his letters cease to note the year of the indiction, and give only the year of his pontificate. His bulls display the verse: "Doce me domine facere voluntatem tuam."

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Emperors of the Romans.	Eastern Emperors.
Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152–1190.	Isaac II., Angelus, 1185–1195.
Henry VI., 1190–1197.	

England.	France.	Jerusalem.
Henry II., 1154–1189.	Philip II., Augustus, 1180–1223.	Guy of Lusignan, 1186–1194.
Richard I., 1189–1199.		

WITH Saladin in possession of Jerusalem, and all the peoples of Europe waiting for the successor of St. Peter to Election of Paul Scolari, Dec. 19.

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unite them in a mighty effort to recover it, there could be no delay in electing a new Pope. Accordingly, on the second day, or, according to Roman reckoning, on the third day after the death of Gregory, the cardinals met together in the cathedral and chose as his successor the Cluniac Theobald, bishop of Ostia. But he declined the proferred honour, and the cardinals fell back upon the bishop of Palestrina, Paul Scolari, whom, as we have seen,[1] Henry of Albano had formerly declared to be too weak to bear the burden of the Papacy. It is true he was very weak, being troubled with heart disease;[2] but he was a Roman, and, as there had not been a Roman Pope for some years, it was no doubt hoped that the election of one at this crisis might smooth the difficulties with the Roman Republic. Perhaps also the Roman consul Leo de Monumento who, we read,[3] was present at the election, may have been able to exert some influence in securing the choice of a Roman. At any rate a Roman, the son of John Scolari and Mary,[4] was chosen[5] to the satisfaction of even the monks of Canterbury. They would no doubt have preferred to see the throne of the Fisherman occupied

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 313.

[2] *Cf.* ep. of a monk of Canterbury in Rome, ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 218, ed. Stubbs, R. S. From another letter in the same collection (p. 211) we learn that his death was expected in 1188. From the *Annales Pisani*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 191, ad an. 1186, it would appear that he was not present when he was elected, as he was seemingly resting with the good monks of Vallombrosa in their monastery of St. Paul *Lung' Arno*. "Paulus . . . est electus, levatus ab hospitio S. Pauli *de Ripa Arni*, et . . . Clemens III. vocatus est." An inscription on the west wall gives 1194 as the date of the dedication of the present Church of San Paolo a Ripa d' Arno, known as the Duomo Vecchio.

[3] *Ann. Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 349. "Episcopi et cardinales una cum Leone Monumenti eligerunt pontificem episcopum Penestrinensem (sic)."

[4] The Catalogue of Cencius Camerarius, ap. *Lib. Censuum*, i. 330, ed. Fabre.

[5] *Cf. Epp. Cantuar.*, 162, p. 137, and 161, p. 136.

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by their patron Theobald, but still they have left it on record that Paul Scolari, who was given the name of Clement III., was believed to be "a steady and just man,"[1] and that though he was "a Roman he was above a bribe."[2]

Previous career of Paul Scolari.

The new Pope, so we are told by the contemporary Roman annalists,[3] was a native of the region then known as that of the Pinea. It was and still is the old ninth region of Augustus, the region of the Circus Flaminius, which included the Campus Martius, and of which the Pantheon was one of the principal buildings. The pine-cone, indeed, which may have given its name to the district,[4] and which, according to the *Mirabilia*, was once, "with a roof of gilded brass," "the covering over the statue of Cybele, mother of the gods, in the opening of the Pantheon," is said by some to be now in the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican.[5] But that, when Paul Scolari was born, there

[1] *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 139, "Vir ut asseritur constans et justus."

[2] *Ib.*, p. 178 ; *cf.* p. 179.

[3] *Ann. Rom.* and the Catalogue of Cencius, *ll. cc.* Besides the Rione della Pigna there is also a Piazza Pigna.

[4] The origin of the name of the region is really uncertain. It may have been derived from an ornamental pine-cone or from a pine-tree. *Cf.* Lanciani, *L' itinerario di Einsedeln*, p. 117.

[5] By Nichols in his notes to his translation of the *Mirabilia*, p. 74, following a fourteenth-century edition of the *Mirabilia*: "In fastigio Pantheon . . . stabat pinea ærea quæ nunc est ante portam S. Petri" (Urlichs, *Codex Romæ topog.*, p. 132, or ap. Nichols, p. 82). It does not appear to be quite clear where the *pinea* now in the Vatican did come from originally. In the twelfth century the Vatican *Pine* was seemingly in the atrium of old St. Peter's, and served the purpose of a fountain. At any rate it is certain from Peter Mallius (ap. *Acta SS.* Jun. vii. p. 50*) and from the earliest edition of the *Mirabilia* (ed. Fabre, ap. *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 269) that in the atrium of St. Peter's was a great basin (*cantharus*), and that in its midst was a brazen pine-cone. Into it "water out of the Sabbatine aqueduct was supplied . . . by a pipe of lead ; the which being always full, gave water through holes in the nuts to all that wanted it." A sixteenth-century engraving by Philip de Winghe shows the cone fountain in action (*cf.* Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, i. p. 266, n. 23). But it would appear to have come origin-

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was a *pinea* between the Pantheon and the Church of St. Mark, is certain. Special mention is made of the *pinea* in the contemporary *ordo* of Canon Benedict,[1] and it must have been one of the early recollections of Paul Scolari. In due course he became archpriest of St. Mary Major,[2] and cardinal-bishop of Palestrina.[3] To this latter high position he was raised whilst yet young by Alexander III. about the close of the year 1180, as his name as bishop appears on papal bulls from January 13, 1181. Elected Pope on December 19, he was crowned on the following day.[4]

Clement notifies his accession to the Christian world, Dec. 1187.

The new Pope lost no time in notifying his accession to the bishops of the Catholic world; but the only specimen of the letters despatched on this occasion which has come down to us is the letter addressed to the bishops of our own country. Clement begins by bewailing the short

ally from the mausoleum of Hadrian (castle of St. Angelo). The *Mirabilia* (*ib.*) tells of golden (*i.e.*, gilded bronze) peacocks adorning the castle of St. Angelo, and the Vatican *Pine* is now flanked by two peacocks. Hence Burn (*Rome and the Campagna*, p. 273) definitely states that "the bronze fir-cone found here (viz., in St. Angelo) . . . is now . . . in the Vatican garden." But if the cone of which Burn speaks is the same as the one that once stood in the atrium of old St. Peter's, it must have been found before the twelfth century.

[1] Lanciani, *l.c.* The name *pinea* was certainly attached to the old ninth region in the very beginning of the eleventh century (*cf. supra*, v. 143), and mention of the pine in the same area can be traced to the middle of the tenth century. A privilege of Pope Agapitus II. (an. 955, ap. Urlichs, *l.c.*, p. 201, or *P. L.*, t. 133, p. 916) speaks of "via publica que pergit in Posterula a *Pigna* cum Ecclesia S. Blasii." The mention of the Church of St. Blase fixes the locality of the pine, for there was a Church of St. Blase (S. Biagio) de Penna, or de Puna, or de Pinea, near the mausoleum of Augustus in the ninth region. In the Catalogue of Turin (early fourteenth century) the church is noted as "destroyed." *Cf.* Armellini, *l.c.*, pp. 327 and 49.

[2] Celestine III. (ep. 51, ap. *P. L.*, t. 206) notes: "apud ecclesiam vestram (St. M. M.) a pueritia educatus fuerit, atque nutritus plurimum in veneratione et reverentia locum ipsum habens," etc.

[3] *Ann. Rom.*, *l.c.* [4] *Chron. de Mailros*, an. 1187.

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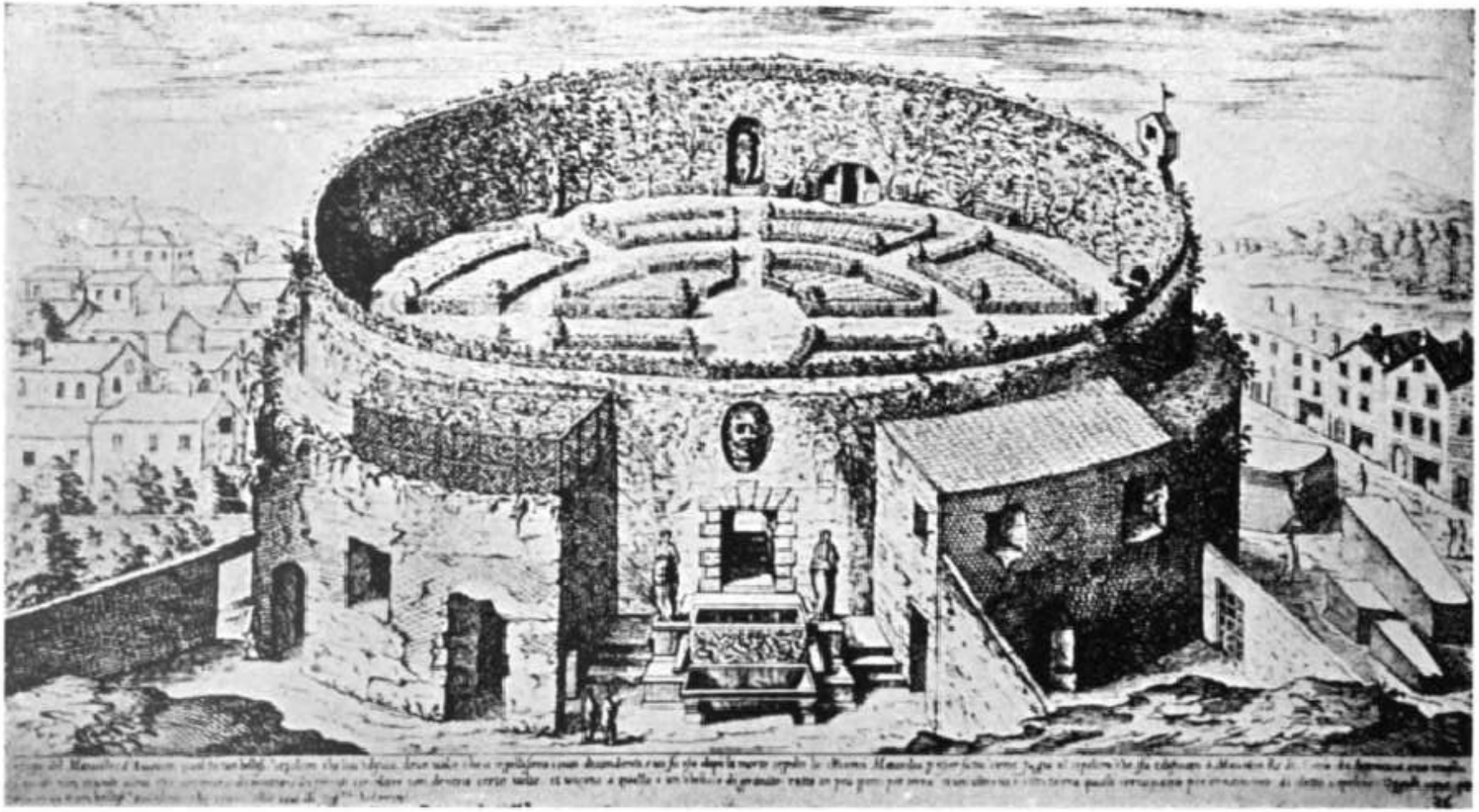

Mausoleum of Augustus in 1575. From Etiénne du Pérac.
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reign of his predecessor, "a good and prudent father," and proceeds to express the profoundest astonishment at the ways of God in his regard. "On the third day after the death of our predecessor, when all the prescribed regulations had been duly performed, our brethren turned to our insufficiency, and by the will of God placed the burden of the Apostolate on our shoulders." But he hopes that through the prayers of the good God will give him all the necessary strength and knowledge. He concludes by urging the English bishops to show themselves, as usual, devoted to their mother the holy Roman Church, and to induce their people to show it due reverence.[1]

Clement comes to terms with the Romans, 1188.

This preliminary accomplished, Clement devoted himself in person and by his legates to promote the sacred cause of peace, especially in the interests of the wished-for Crusade. His predecessor had come to Pisa to effect a treaty between that city and Genoa. Clement pursued the work he had begun, and pushed the peace negotiations so far forward that by means of his legates the two cities were reconciled in the July of 1188.[2] Meanwhile, he earnestly exhorted the Pisans to labour for the recovery of Jerusalem, and with his own hands presented "the standard of St. Peter to their archbishop Ubaldus, in order that he might

[1] This letter seems to have been first published in the *English Hist. Rev.*, vol. ix., 1894, p. 540 f. "Rogamus igitur fraternitatem vestram . . . quatinus matri vestre sancte Romane ecclesie devoti, more solito, existatis, et subditos vestros ad servandam ei devotionem et reverentiam inducatis."

[2] Epp. 55, May 19, and ep. 99, December 12, which repeats and confirms the terms of the treaty. The treaty which the Pope inserts in his letter to the Pisans "word for word" opens by pointing out that it is one of the most important duties of the chief pastor to remove dissensions, and that the present peace is the result of the labours of Gregory and Clement. Both parties agreed to submit to the award of the Pope which is set forth in this letter. His legates also made peace between Parma and Piacenza in 1189. *Cf.* Joh. de Mussis, *Chron. Placent.*, an. 1189, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xvi. 456.

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be the standard-bearer of the Christian host and the representative (*legatus*) to it of the Apostolic See."[1]

But the peace which Clement had most at heart was naturally peace with his people of Rome. Fortunately, they were as anxious for the return of the Pope as he was to go back to them. Not quite half a century had yet elapsed since they had proclaimed a Republic, but the strife and discord, combined with the enforced prolonged absences of the Popes, which had ensued, had well-nigh ruined the city.[2] Negotiations opened no doubt between Leo de Monumento and the Pope, were continued by the latter's sending envoys to Rome. The Romans proclaimed that they, "even more than their lord and father,"[3] desired peace and concord; but they declared that they must insist that, if they could not themselves compel Tusculum to acknowledge their overlordship, and to pay them an annual tribute, then the Pope, at his own expense, must help them. Although, as the sequel will show, Clement did not wish to take any steps against Tusculum, he came to the conclusion that it was a less evil that the walls of Tusculum should be destroyed, *i.e.*, that it should become an open town, than that the Popes should be kept out of Rome. Accordingly, on the understanding that in any event the people of Tusculum were not to be removed from Clement's control, the following conditions of peace were agreed to, though they were not formally signed till after Clement's return to Rome in February 1188.[4]

[1] *Ann. Pisani*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 191.

[2] The collapse of the *Schola Anglorum* during this period is only an example of the decline of the city's prosperity.

[3] Roger of Hov., *Chron.*, an. 1191, iii. 103, R. S.

[4] The document containing the conditions takes the form of an address from the S.P.Q.R. to the Pope offering him greeting and homage (fidele cum subjectione servitium). It may be read ap. *Liber Cens.*, i. 373 f., or *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 1507 ff., and opens with a eulogium

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In the first place, the overlordship of the Pope is fully recognised. He is to have the nomination of the Senate, the supreme power in the city, and the right of coining money.[1] The churches and other ecclesiastical buildings put in pledge by the Senate during the war are to be returned to the Pope on the understanding that the Senate be allowed to keep a third part of their revenues until such time as the mortgages should be paid off.[2] The regalian rights held by the Senate, whether within or without the Senate, were to be surrendered, except the tolls derived from the Ponte Lucano, which bridge the Senate was to keep in its own possession. The reason of this exception is made clear by a later clause. The strongly fortified Ponte Lucano crossed the Anio less than a mile from Tivoli (Tibur), and hence commanded its district. Now it was stipulated that if the Romans wished to make war on Tivoli the Pope was not to hinder them, and they retained their control over the bridge that they might be free to harass their weaker neighbour when the opportunity offered.

The lands and people of Tusculum were to remain in the

on peace: "Per habundantiam namque pacis . . . patrie crescit defensio, et Romane ecclesie atque urbis egregie dignitas conservatur illesa."

[1] "Reddimus vobis senatum et urbem et monetam." A third of the money coined had to be given to the Senate. From the absence of any specimens of papal coins of this period it is argued that the Popes did not at this time resume the coining of money. They would appear to have adopted that of the Senatu. "Nostram recipiatis monetam quæ vulgo dicitur de senatu," wrote Innocent III. (Ep. xi. 135, an. 1208). Some, however, believe that for a time both the Pope and the Senate coined money simultaneously. Mittarelli, *Annal. Camald.*, iv., Append., an. 1177, n. 53, gives a document which shows John, abbot of St. Gregory, letting a castellum for "3 solidos *D. Pape*."

[2] The Romans seem also to have wished to stand by the barons of the Campagna, the *capitanei*, inasmuch as they stipulated that, saving the papal rights regarding Palestrina and the homage to be rendered by them to the Pope, the agreements made between them and the *capitanei* should hold good.

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possession of the Roman Church; but the Pope was to permit the Romans to destroy its fortifications; and, if they had not come into their power by the first of January (1189), Clement was to excommunicate its people and, with his vassals, to help the Romans to take the place.

The Pope was to continue his customary payments and largesses[1] to the senators, to the judges, to the notaries appointed by the Roman pontiffs, and to the functionaries of the Senate; he was also, according to the agreements which both parties were to observe, to make good the losses which certain individuals had sustained at the hands of the papal party, and he was to give yearly a hundred pounds towards the upkeep of the walls of the city. The Romans, on their side, were to respond to the Pope's call upon them to defend the Patrimony of St. Peter, but they were to receive the usual pay.[2]

On these conditions the Senate agreed that their body should regularly swear fealty to the Popes,[3] and that the

[1] *E.g.*, on Christmas day the Pope was wont at this period "with his own hand" to give to each senator one *melequinus*; to each judge and to each advocate one *melequinus* and two *solidi*; and to the whole body of the notaries six *melequini* and six *solidi*. *Cf. Ordo Romanus* of Cencius, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 291–2, ed. Fabre. The *melequinus* (*melechinus*, *malechinus*, or *malochinus*), so called from the Arabic word *melech* (king, *cf.* the *solidi regales* of King Roger of Sicily), and not because coined at Mechlin (Du Cange, s.v. *byzantius*), was a gold coin, often spoken of in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and was estimated in 1299 at six *solidi* (silver) or *gros tournois*. (In the time of St. Louis the *gros tournois* was equal in weight of silver to a little over a franc.) As the value of silver coinage depreciated, especially in the fourteenth century, the *melequinus* gradually rose to the value of eight *gros tournois*. *Cf.* Fabre, *Lib. Cens.*, i. 6 f., whence this note is taken.

[2] "Si ad defensionem patrimonii b. Petri Romanos vocaveritis, ipsi ibunt cum expensis quas predecessores eorum a Romana curia habere consueverunt." The mercenary side of the Roman character comes out strongly in this treaty.

[3] They also agreed that in the distribution of appointments they would have regard to the advantage of the Church—at least that appears to me to be the meaning of: "Defendemus omnes dignitates et honores

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Pope and his curia and all having business with it should enjoy peace and security.

A number of the citizens from every quarter (*contrada*) of Rome were to swear to the observance of this treaty, which was dated the forty-fourth year of the Senate (May 31, 1188), and signed by the fifty-six senators.[1] It has been noted[2] that this charter of 1188 was the last of the important concordats made between the Papacy and the Commune of Rome, and, though often violated, it regulated without substantial alteration the relations between the two parties for a considerable period; for, as it left "the Pope free in a free Rome," it was always found necessary to revert to it.

Clement returns to Rome, 1188.

Content with the substantial recognition of his rights secured by this agreement, Clement set out for Rome "along with his whole court (*curia*) and with Leo de Monumento, and was welcomed with the greatest joy and with the usual acclamations (*laudibus*) by all the Romans, great and small, clergy and laity, and," conclude the Roman annals,[3] "even by the Jews" (February 1188).

Reorganisation of the personnel of the Lateran, 1188.

Before leaving Pisa, he would appear to have initiated

urbis ad opus et utilitatem vestram et Romane ecclesie." The order of the articles of the agreement has been altered in order to bring similar articles more together. Rodocanachi, p. 43, *Les institutions communales de Rome*, has given the chief clauses of the oath taken by the senators.

[1] The formula of the oath taken by the senators on this occasion has been preserved in the contemporary *Liber Censuum*, i. 313, ed. Fabre. They swear to be faithful to "their lord Pope Clement," and to defend his person and interests, the regalia being named among the latter. "Nominatim autem S. Petrum, urbem Romam, civitatem Leonianam, Transtyberim, Insulam, castellum Crescentii, S. Mariam Rotundam, senatum, monetam, honores et dignitates urbis, Portum, Hostiam, et tenimentum Tusculani, et generaliter omnia regalia intra urbem et extra."

[2] Halphen, *Études sur l'administration de Rome*, p. 57.

[3] Ap. *L. P.*, ii. 349. *Cf. Anon. Casin.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 70.

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certain reforms in the management of the Lateran palace. In this he was helped by his careful Camerarius, Cencius,[1] who was anxious to secure a more devoted body of officials for the immediate service of the Pope. Of the details of his work, however, we only know that he ordered the *ostiarii* (doorkeepers) or custodians of the palace to perform their duties in regular weekly turns, entrusting their work to their unoccupied companions should any just excuse prevent any of them from performing their appointed task. All of them were, moreover, to present themselves at the palace on the feasts of the Assumption of Our Lady, Christmas day, Holy Thursday, and Easter, and whenever they were duly summoned by the Camerarius. New members of their body were only to be enrolled by order of the Camerarius,[2] and only those who had taken the oath were to be entrusted with the care of the keys of the basilica of St. Lawrence or of the palace. The oath these custodians were required to take is an indication not merely that they were disposed to steal, but that literary articles (including lead for the seals of the charters) were as much objects of their pilfering fingers as gold, silver, and precious stones. The *Prior* of the *ostiarii* and his associates swore to be faithful to the Pope, to guard the palace during his life and on his death, and not to steal or allow to be stolen relics, gold, silver, precious stones, ornaments, books, paper (*de cartulis*), lead, bronze, etc.[3]

He recovers property belonging to the Holy See.

Besides thus taking special care of the property of the Holy See, which came directly and constantly under his eye, Clement also kept watchful guard over that which was

[1] "Amministrante d. Cencio d. Pape camerario." *Cf.* the oath of the *ostiarii*, ap. *Lib. C.*, i. 419.

[2] *Cf.* n. 159 ("Quod ostiarii de mandato camerarii debent ostia fideliter custodire"), ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 420. "Et non habeatis protestatem mittere aliquem in scola, nisi de mandato camerarii."

[3] *Ib.*, n. 158, January 22, 1188.

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more remote. During the reign of his predecessor Urban, a certain Lanterius, a Milanese knight and nephew of that Pope, had been appointed by him as his "bailiff" (*ballivus*) throughout the whole of the Campagna. Lanterius kept in his own hands Castrum (le Castella?) and Rocca di Lariano in the neighbourhood of Velletri on the Appian Way.[1] On the death of his uncle, he contemplated returning to Milan, but apparently had no thought of returning the above-mentioned places to the Pope. Accordingly, with a view to preventing loss to the curia, so at least we are told by the annals of Ceccano,[2] Jordan, the abbot of Fossa Nova, not merely bought the territories from Lanterius, but handed them over intact to Pope Clement, who, for this act of thoughtfulness and generosity, made him cardinal-priest of St. Pudenziana and sent him on an embassy to Germany.[3]

For the same reasons that moved his immediate predecessor, Clement treated the Emperor Frederick with great consideration,[4] so that the latter is said to have restored to the Church the property belonging to it which had been seized by his son in the quarrel with Urban III.[5]

[1] On the Castello di Lariano, *cf.* Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*, ii. 360 f. and 368, and on le Castella, *ib.*, pp. 298, 355. See the *Lib. Cens.*, n. 125, i. p. 404, for the acquisition of Lariano by Alexander III. "Papa . . . castrum Lariani cum arce et suis pertinentiis, proprietatis jure libere habeat."

[2] Also called *Ann. Fossæ Novæ*, an. 1187, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 876.

[3] *Ib.*, an. 1188.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 252 ff., for his action with regard to the affair of Volmar of Trier.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 293 f., and a document of April 3, 1189 (Strassburg), ap. Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichsgeschichte Italiens*, iv. p. 216, Innsbruck, 1868 ff. "Restituimus . . . patri Clementi . . . omnem possessionem quam habuit P. Lucius in civitate Urbevetana; et si qui de his qui magestati nostre juraverunt prius P. Lucio juraverant, eos absolvimus de juramento." He also restored "quoad possessionem" Narni, Tusculum, Terracina, etc.; and also "quæcumque civitates, castella, munitiones, ville et barones per Romaniam vel Campaniam,"

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About to start on a Crusade for the recovery of Christ's sepulchre, the old emperor could not set out on his expedition troubled by the thought that he whom he regarded as his Lord's Vicar had a real grievance against him, nor would he be outdone in generosity by the Pope.

He improves buildings in Rome.

Besides thus improving the Patrimony of St. Peter outside Rome, Clement did not neglect its needs in and about the city. Taking his share in the Roman artistic development of the twelfth century,[1] he constructed (*ordinavit*) the large cloister of the basilica of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls.[2] Frothingham assures us[3] that this cloister shows an architectural advance on its predecessors of the same century. "One sign of progress," he writes, "is the use of coupled in place of single shafts to flank the central arches or doorways in each bay of the four galleries. The walls are still of plain brickwork, the arches still merely varied by plain projecting archivolts, the capitals still plain plinths, and the baseless shafts still rest directly on the continuous basement. The shape of the cloister is oblong, the longer sides having three groups of arcades divided by piers, the shorter sides only two. Part of the second story, with brickwork and windows in the same style as the lower story, is still preserved. This is particularly valuable; practically a unique case in Rome, where the question of the second story is one of controversy."

Clement also continued the work of several of his predecessors in this age on the Lateran palace. He is

which had not belonged to his father or himself, but which had sworn allegiance to him after the death of Lucius. He also restored the property of cardinals, etc.: "Item Jacinto cardinali restituimus Petronianum et Cincellam."

[1] *Cf.* Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, ch. vii.

[2] Martinus Polonus, *Chron.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 451, or *M. G. SS.*, xxii.

[3] *Ib.*, pp. 198-9.

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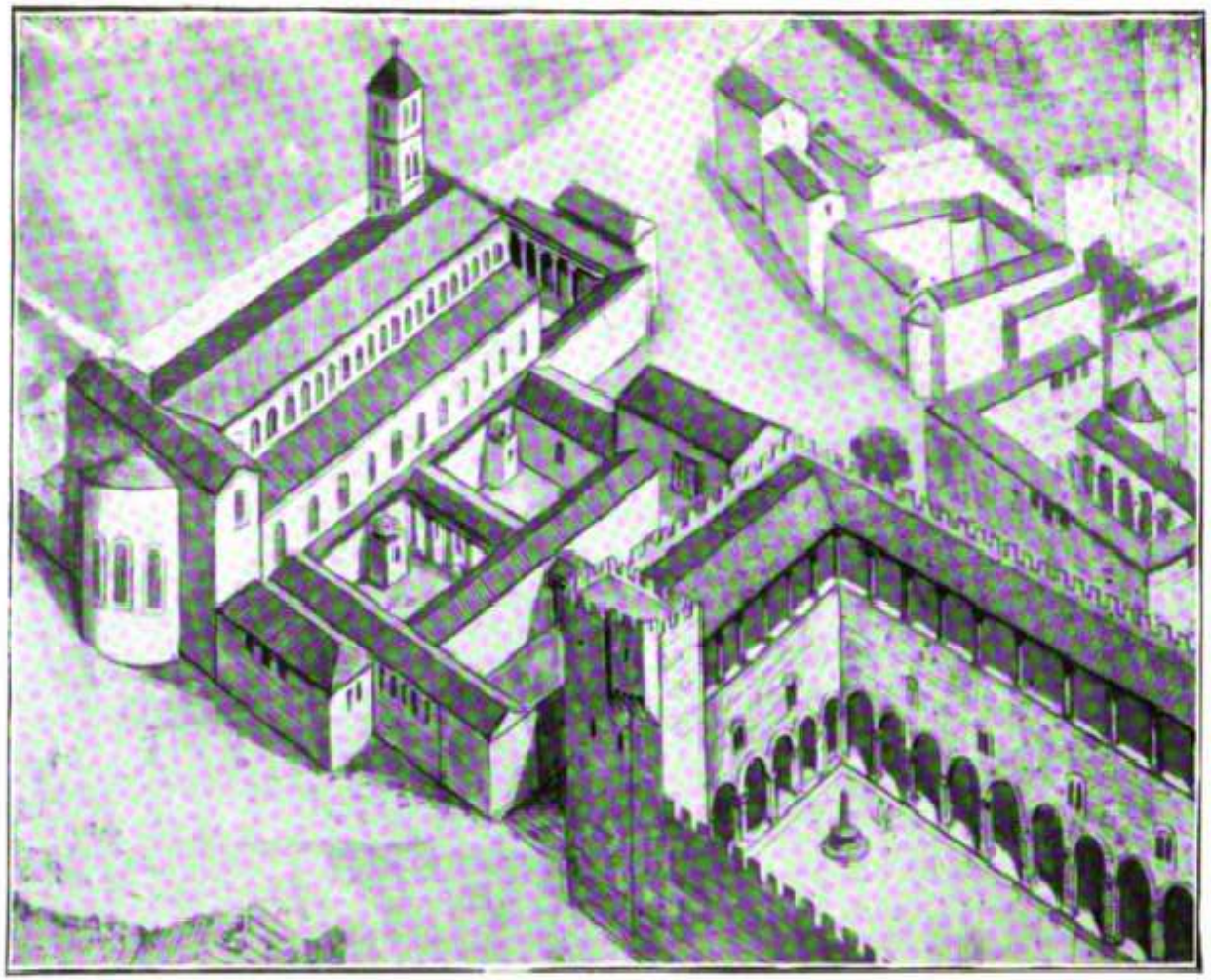

A Plan showing S. Maria Maggiore and the Palace of Clement III. as they once existed.
From Biasiotti, *La Basilica Esquilina di S. Maria.*

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credited with both raising a portion of it,[1] and with decorating it with frescoes (*picturis*).[2] When he was cardinal-bishop of Palestrina he had built, for the use of the bishops of his see, a palace, to the left of St. Mary Major's, to the left, *i.e.*, as you look at its façade. On becoming Pope he gave it to the canons attached to the basilica. This we know from a bull of his successor, Celestine III., January 4, 1192.[3] As some of Clement's predecessors occasionally abode in the neighbourhood of St Mary Major's, it has been supposed that he merely rebuilt an old papal palace. At any rate, the successors of Clement not infrequently resided in the palace which he had built; and some of them in turn reconstructed it. This was done by Nicholas IV., and, on a splendid scale, like the rest of his undertakings, by Nicholas V. Remains of the elegant loggia built by the last-named Pope may still be seen; and the bulls of later Popes issued from the Quirinal palace, but dated "apud S. Mariam Majorem," kept fresh the memory of the old papal residence by that basilica.[4]

He also "caused a well to be made before the bronze horse."[5] This "bronze horse" is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius which in 1538 was set up in the square of the Capitol, where it may still be seen, but which in the days of Clement III. was "the hors of bras and the rider that stant at laterane," as an English pilgrim to Rome, the Augustinian, John Capgrave, described it in 1450.[6]

[1] Martinus P., *ib.* [2] Ricobaldi. See next note.

[3] Jaffé, 16,797, or ep. 51, Celest., ap. *P. L.*, t. 206.

[4] *Cf.* Adinolfi, *Roma dell' età di mezzo*, ii. 213 f., corrected by Biasiotti, *La basilica Esquilina*, p. 29 ff., Rome, 1911.

[5] Martinus, *ib.*, "ante ereum equum." Ricobaldi of Ferrara (end of thirteenth century) pretends that Clement restored the horse itself; but he has probably misread his source: "equum quoque æreum fieri fecit." *Hist. Pont. Rom.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. 178.

[6] *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 31; Oxford, 1911.

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Whilst it stood in front of the Lateran palace it was known as the horse of Constantine, and as such is mentioned in most of the medieval guides to Rome.[1]

Exhortations to the crusade.

But the principal work of Clement was in connection with the Crusade. His letters[2] and legates urging the princes of Europe to make peace with one another and to take up the cross penetrated everywhere. He exhorted the bishops of England, for instance, to exert themselves lest "the unspeakable progeny of Ishmael" should grow more insolent, and still more fiercely attack the Christian.[3] He bade them send help themselves to the Holy Land, and tell the people of the indulgences that might be gained by such as took the cross, if they were truly penitent. Further, he required them to compel the clergy to contribute money to the cause of the cross, and to send round prudent clerks to collect the subsidy.[4] Specially did he order them to have prayers said for the success of the Crusade, and to promote peace.[5]

[1] *Cf. Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, pp. 42, 156, English version. *Cf.* Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 231; and especially Rodocanachi, *Le capitole Romain*, p. 70 ff.

[2] *Cf.* his letter of February 10, 1198, dated from the Lateran, to the bishops of England: "Ex litteris quæ per diversas partes super hoc (the fall of Jerusalem) fuere transmissæ." Ap. Giraldus Cambrensis *De instruc. princip.*, iii. c. 4, p. 95, ed. *Ang. Christ.* This letter is not registered in Jaffé. These "letters" doubtless refer to those of Gregory VIII. and others besides Clement's. *Cf.* Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, iv. 6; Jaffé, 16,252; and Jacques de Vitry, *Hist.*, i. c. 97.

[3] That the successes of Saladin constituted a real danger to Christendom was then fully realised. *Cf.* Peter of Blois, ep. 112, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207. "In exterminium Christiani nominis gentium grassatur immanitas."

[4] "Volumus autem ut clericos, qui vestræ juris ditioni subsistant, auctoritate nostra et vestra cogatis ut de bonis quæ habent terræ illi non differant subvenire." *Ib.*

[5] *Ib. Cf.* Roger of Hov., an. 1188, ii. p. 359, R. S. Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 298, is certainly justified in observing that at this crisis: "The Papacy proved true to its noblest traditions. It was universally believed that the fall, or the prospect of the fall, of the

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The zealous cries of Gregory[1] and Clement did not fall upon deaf ears. "So great was the ardour of this new pilgrimage, that it was no longer a question who should take the cross, but who had not yet taken it. Several persons sent a present of a distaff and wool to one another, as a significant hint that whosoever declined the campaign would degrade himself as much as if he did the duties of a woman: wives urged their husbands, mothers their sons, to devote themselves to this noble contest. . . . Many migrated from the cloister to the camp, and, exchanging the cowl for the cuirass, and the library for the study of arms, showed themselves truly Christ's soldiers. . . . It was also agreed both among nobles and bishops, by common consent, that in order to maintain the pilgrims who were poor, those who remained at home should pay tithes of their property."[2] Popular enthusiasm was still further enkindled by ballads[3] and poems[4] that were everywhere sung or recited. Their result.

At length, moved especially by the zeal of Henry of Albano, whom Gregory VIII. had sent to him, the Emperor Frederick took the cross, and urged his people, "in accordance with the mandates of the Pope and the Frederick begins his march to the East, May 1189.

Holy City had proved Urban III.'s death-blow. His successors, the enthusiastic Gregory VIII. and the conciliatory Clement III., strove, at great sacrifices, to heal the feuds of Pope and emperor, and to assuage the rivalries of the monarchs of Europe, so that all might turn their resources to the Holy War."

[1] *Itin. Ric. I.*, ii. 2.

[2] "But," continues the author we are quoting (*ib.*, and i. 17), "the heinous cupidity of many took advantage of this to lay heavy and undue exactions upon their subjects." *Cf. Ann. Pegav. Contin.*, an. 1188, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 266; Hoveden, an. 1187, ii. 330.

[3] Hoveden, *l.c.* The refrain ran:

"Lignum crucis, Signum ducis, Sequitur exercitus,
Quod non cessit, Sed præcessit, In vi sancti spiritus."

[4] *Ib.*, iii. 37.

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decision of all the princes of the Empire, to march to the rescue of the Christians of the East."[1] Splendidly did the Germans rally to the call of their emperor and the papal legates,[2] and in the month of May the aged Frederick, after leaving the Empire in charge of his son Henry, set out through Hungary towards Constantinople.

The kings of England and France at length also set out for the East.

Meanwhile, the papal envoys, particularly that "servant of the cross," Henry of Albano, had also approached the kings of England and France, had made peace between them near Gisors (January 1188), and had induced them to take the cross, after the example of Henry's son, Richard Cœur de Lion, duke of Aquitaine.[3] When they had fixed the time of their departure for the East, they drew up a proclamation which was to be issued to their respective peoples. It set forth that when the sad news from the East had reached the Church of Rome and the whole of Christendom, the Pope, wishing to relieve the general depression caused by it, had "with the wonted clemency of the Apostolic See instituted (*ordinavit*) the best remedy for all who should take the cross, viz., that from the day anyone should assume the cross he was to be released from every penance enjoined upon him for his sins, provided that he were sorry for them and had confessed them."[4] The decree then laid down that all, clergy

[1] *Chron.* Magni, an. 1188, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 509. *Cf. Ann.* Lamberti parvi, an. 1188, ap. *ib.*, xvi., and *Chron. reg. Col.*, 1188; Arnold, *l.c.*, iii. 28, and the letter of Henry of Albano to the clerical and lay nobility of the Empire, ap. Watterich, ii. 694 ff.; Otto of St. Blaise, c. 30 f.

[2] "Cardinales . . . verbo predicationis per diversas imperii partes instabant, multisque . . . crucem tollere . . . persuaserunt." Otto, *l.c.*

[3] *Gesta Henrici*, 1188, ii. 29, 51, R. S.; Will. of Newburgh, iii. 23; the author of the *Expedit. Asiatica* of Frederick I., ap. Canisium, *Antiq. lect.*, v., or Watterich, ii. 695 n.; Giraldus Camb., *De instruc. princip.*, iii. c. 5.

[4] "Unde d. Papa et ecclesia Romana, volens huic miseriæ subvenire, optimum remedium omnibus qui crucem acceperint de consueta sedis

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and laity, who did not take the cross should pay the Saladin tithe,[1] *i.e.*, a tenth of their rents and movables; and, besides making various regulations for the benefit of debtors anxious to join the Crusade, it forbade luxury in dress or diet.

But Richard and Henry, and especially Philip of France, were more intent on their own interests than on those of Christendom, and not one of them had the singleness of purpose of Barbarossa. Richard took sides with Philip against his father, and war broke out between the two kings (August 1188).[2] Very much grieved at this serious hindrance to the success of the war against the Moslem, Clement sent a fresh legate to negotiate a lasting peace between the combatants, for Henry of Albano had died in July.[3] The new envoy, John of Anagni,[4] cardinal-priest of St. Mark, was at first partially successful in his mediation, and it was agreed by the kings that, "in virtue of the authority of the Pope," anyone should be excommunicated who should do anything to hinder the conclusion of peace (January 1189).[5] But when Henry and Philip met the legate in June at La Ferté Bernard to settle the question of peace or war, the French king, who had no intention of coming to terms, made fresh demands. The legate thereupon threatened to lay France under an

apostolicæ clementia ordinavit; videlicet quod a die qua quislibet crucem acceperit, totius pœnæ sibi injunctæ habebit de peccatis suis de quibus pœnitens fuerit et confessus, et similiter de oblitis relaxationem." Will. of N., iii. 22. *Cf. Gesta Hen.* (Benedict), 1188; ii. p. 30 f., R. S.

[1] Philip of France, with the consent of clergy and people, decreed the levying of certain tithes: "que dicte sunt decime Salahadini." Rigord, *Gesta Phil.*, c. 57.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 25; *Gesta*, ii. 40, etc. *Cf.* Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 287 f.

[3] *Gesta*, *ib.*, pp. 55–6.

[4] Of the "Conti di Segni."

[5] *Gesta Hen.*, 1189, ii. p. 61.

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interdict; but Philip declared that it did not belong to the Roman Church to punish France if its king chose to punish rebels, and insultingly added that the legate had "smelt" English gold.[1] And while the French king sneered, the blustering Richard of the Lion Heart could scarcely be prevented from cutting down the cardinal where he stood.[2] But though the assembled magnates expressed their conviction that John was only "anxious for the cause of the cross and the honour of Christendom,"[3] the conference came to naught, and fighting began again.

The fortune of war, however, went against Henry, and in the following month (July) he had to submit to Philip's terms. But no sooner had he signed the treaty of peace, and learned that his favourite son John had taken part with Richard against him, than he died, it is said, of a broken heart (July 6, 1189).

There was now nothing to prevent the English and French from setting out on the Crusade. Richard, the new king of England, met Philip at Vézelay (July 1190); both received "the scrip and staff" (*peram et baculum*) of the pilgrim and started for the Holy Land by different routes.

Richard in Sicily.

Both, however, again met in Sicily, where troubles soon arose between the Crusaders and the islanders and between Richard and King Tancred. Unfortunately the Norman king of Sicily, William II., one of the bulwarks of Christendom against the Moslem, and by Pope Clement accounted the most beloved of kings,[4] had died at the

[1] *Ib.*, p. 66 f. "Adjecit etiam quod cardinalis sterlingos regis olfecerat."

[2] For this account of Richard's furious outbreak of temper we are indebted to that abridgment of his great chronicle by Matthew of Paris which is known as the *Historia Anglorum*, an. 1189, i. 459.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Ep. of Prior Honorius to the monastery of Canterbury, ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 196, R. S. *Cf. ib.*, p. 321, or Jaffé, 16,544, for a letter of Clement to John of Anagni.

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close of the year before the French and English reached Messina (†November 18, 1189). As he died without issue, his throne ought to have gone to his aunt Constance, the wife of the German king Henry VI. But the Germans were unpopular;[1] and so, taking advantage of this, a strong party in the state secured the election of Tancred, count of Lecce, a natural son of Duke Roger, the son of King Roger II. It is said, moreover, that the consent of Pope Clement was sought and obtained;[2] for he was naturally not anxious that Henry should hold Germany and the Sicilies. Tancred, the last Norman king, was accordingly crowned at Palermo in January 1190.[3]

The English had not been long in the island before hostilities broke out between Richard and Tancred. Our king had demanded the release of his sister Johanna, the widow of William II., whom Tancred had kept in prison, the return of her dowry, and the legacy which his deceased brother-in-law had left to Henry II.[4] The king of Sicily

[1] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande en Italie, etc.*, ii. p. 419 ff.

[2] "Tancredus, comes Licii, Romana in hoc curia dante assensum, est . . . coronatus in regem." Richard of San Germano, *Chron.*, 1189, ed. Pertz, p. 6. "T. . . . de assensu et favore Curiæ Romanæ coronatur in regem." *Annal. Cass.*, 1190, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. p. 71. Richard, a notary of Frederick II. († after 1243), wrote a *Chronica regni Siciliæ* (1189–1243) of the first importance for the history of southern Italy. This work, very imperialistic in tone, has been often edited, *e.g.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii., *M. G. SS.*, xix., whence, by itself *in usum scholarum*, as cited above; see also Will. of Newburgh, iii. 28.

[3] Peter of Eboli, a partisan of Henry, is very abusive of Tancred:

> "Ecce vetus monstrum, nature crimen, aborsum,
> Ecce coronatur simia, turpis homo."
>
> *Lib. ad honor. Aug.*, Partic. vii., v. 184–5.

[4] Richard of Devizes, *Chron. de gest. Ric.* (1189–1192), c. 21. Richard, a monk of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester, wrote *c.* 1193. *Cf. Itin. Ric.*, ii., cc. 11, 14 ff.; Roger of Hov., an. 1190, iii. p. 55 ff., R. S.

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only partially satisfied the claims of Richard, whose vexation was increased by the insulting treatment meted out to his men by the natives—treatment which, however, the unrestrained conduct of the Crusaders had no doubt done something to deserve.

The English flew to arms, and soon captured Messina. But as most of the leading men of the expedition had really at heart the success of their main undertaking, they brought about peace between Richard and the Sicilian sovereign. Concessions were made on both sides. Tancred was to give the English king a large sum of money to satisfy his just claims, and Richard was to give in marriage his nephew and heir-presumptive, Arthur of Brittany, to Tancred's daughter when she became marriageable. "Or if it shall please your Highness that she shall be married before she arrives at marriageable years, our said nephew shall do so in accordance with your good pleasure, if the Supreme Pontiff will grant a dispensation. . . . Moreover . . . we give our lord the Pope and the Church of Rome as sureties,[1] to the end that if . . . the said peace should be violated by us, the Church of Rome shall have power to coerce both ourselves and our territories."[2]

At the same time that he signed the articles of peace, Richard wrote to the Pope to beg him to accept that position of guardian of the treaty which he had assigned to him. "To his most reverend lord and most holy father Clement, by the grace of God, Supreme Pontiff of the holy Apostolic See, Richard by the same grace, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and earl of

1. Roger, *ib.*, p. 63. "D. Papam et Romanam ecclesiam, in fidejussione ponimus."

2 *Ib.*, p. 64. "Potestatem habeat Romana ecclesia nos et terram nostram districtius coecere."

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Anjou, health and sincere dutifulness in the Lord. The actions of princes are blessed with more prosperous results," began the letter of Richard, "when they receive strength and favour from the Apostolic See, and are directed by communication with the Church of Rome."[1] The king then proceeds to tell the Pope of the treaty he has made with Tancred, and concludes: "We do earnestly entreat your Holiness and the holy Church of Rome, that the holy Apostolic See will undertake to be surety in our behalf to our lord the King Tancred and his heirs for our constant observance of the peace thus established between us. . . . Your Holiness well knows how to have regard to the honour of both of us; so that, if, through the mediation of the Roman Church, the peace and the intended marriage have a happy issue, many benefits will ensue therefrom for the future."[2]

The reception of a letter so full of a large confidence in the Holy See will assuredly have removed from the mind of the Pope any little soreness he may have felt from the slight which Richard would appear to have put upon him shortly before. When coasting along from Marseilles to Sicily, the English king had arrived in due course at the mouth of the Tiber. There he had been met by Octavian, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and other envoys of the Pope. But, so far from complying with the Pope's request that he should visit Rome, he took occasion to charge the Romans with simony, because, among other counts, it had cost fifteen hundred marks to secure the legatine authority in England for William, bishop of Ely, Richard's chancellor.[3]

[1] "Justiorem exitum facta principum sortiuntur, cum a sede apostolica robur et favorem accipiunt, et S. R. ecclesiæ colloquio diriguntur." *Ib.*, p. 65.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 66. The letter is dated November 11 (1190).

[3] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1190, ii. p. 84, R. S.; Roger, 1190, iii. pp. 40 and 34, R. S. It is impossible not to reflect that accusa-

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According to the author of the *Gesta Ricardi*,[1] the English king had a personal dislike for Clement; and he gives us this piece of gossip no doubt in illustration of his assertion. Once, when the famous Abbot Joachim of Fiore was unfolding to Richard his views on Antichrist, and had assured him that he was already born, and would one day possess the Roman See, the king exclaimed: "If that is the case, the present Pope Clement must be Antichrist."

Clement's continued work on behalf of the Crusades.

Richard left Sicily on April 10, 1191, and sailed for the Holy Land. Perhaps before either the French or English left the island, the aged Clement had breathed his last (March ? 1191), and thus was saved the pain of learning the comparative failure[2] of the best-arranged expeditions that had hitherto left the West. Of the accidental death of Barbarossa in the Calycadnus (Gueuk Su), on the borders of Armenia (June 10, 1190), he will have heard with regret. But of the melting away of his army, of the selfish abandon-

tions of extortion come with bad grace from such a king as Richard. Supposing it to be true that the legateship of William Lonchamp did cost 1500 marks, it must be borne in mind that the ordinary resident papal legate in England at this period was the archbishop of Canterbury. Any alteration in regular procedure would involve considerable trouble to the Roman chancellary, and therefore Richard ought to have been prepared to pay for exceptional favours which would cause difficulties. Here we may note one of Richard's methods of raising money. He obtained permission from the Pope to dispense from their crusading vows those whom he wished to leave at home to guard his territories: "Unde" (by a free interpretation of this dispensing power, and by selling dignities), "ipse sibi inæstimabilem acquisivit pecuniam." Roger, *l.c.*, p. 17.

[1] An. 1191, ii. 154, R. S. *Benedict* soon afterwards states that nearly all the ecclesiastics and those learned in the Scriptures did not attach any weight to the assertions of the abbot. *Ib.*, p. 155.

[2] "Comparative failure" because, notes Conder, "the settlement made by Richard and Saladin was in effect the settlement of the whole Eastern question for a century after. A new Latin kingdom was founded in Cyprus, and every important seaport was regained in Syria, with almost all the lands owned by the military orders." *The Latin Kingdom*, p. 288 f.

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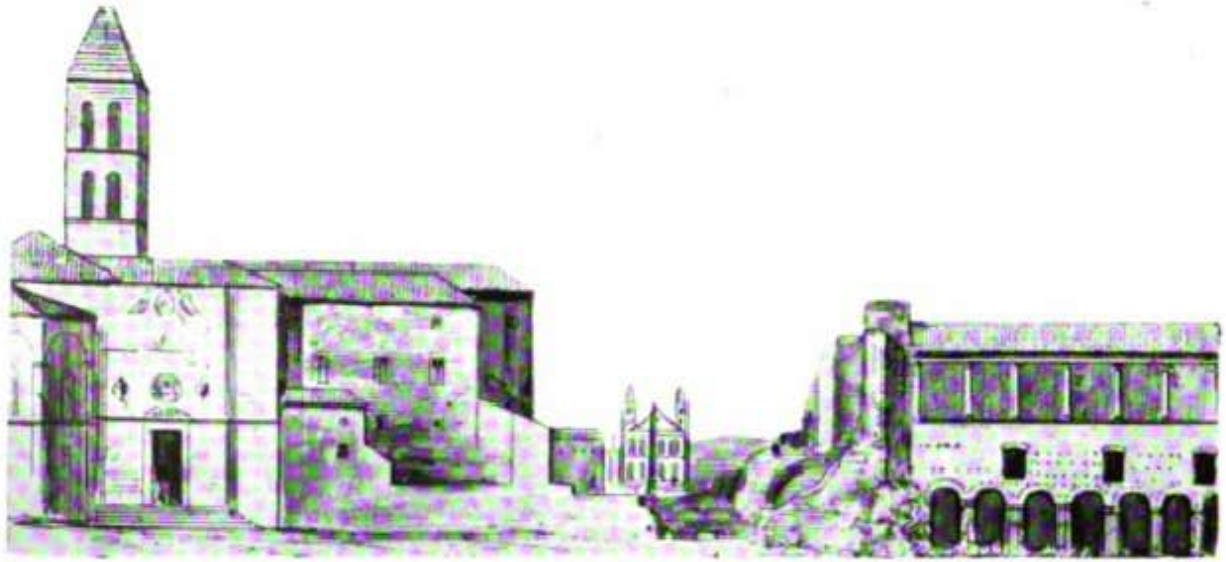

The remains of the Papal Palace of Clement III. (on the right),
from a Fresco of Sixtus V.
From Biasiotti, *La Basilica Esquilina di S. Maria.*

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ment of the Crusaders by Philip of France, and of the enforced return even of him of the Lion Heart without recapturing Jerusalem, he would know nothing. During all his brief pontificate he was able to work with the hope of seeing the Holy City once again in Christian hands. Not content with directly exhorting the nations, even the most northern,[1] to take up the cross, he strove to forward the cause of the Crusades by unceasing efforts to promote peace, by furthering the interests of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers in every country,[2] and by forbidding all trading with the Saracens during time of war.[3]

Clement writes (*a*) to Isaac Angelus.

He essayed even more difficult tasks. He tried to induce the Greeks and the Armenians to be, if not zealous in the cause of the Crusade, at any rate not false and treacherous to the Crusaders. He wrote to the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelus (*c.* December 1188) pointing out to him how at his exhortation the princes of the West had roused themselves against Saladin. The chief among them, he said, were "the other Emperor Frederick, Philip, king of the French, Richard, king of England, and Otho[4] (*sic*), duke of Burgundy. William, king of Sicily," he continued, "had cleared the sea of pirates and had furnished the intending Crusaders with corn from Sicily and Apulia. The Frisians and the Danes had fitted out fifty war-vessels, and the men of Flanders twelve. These bearing down on the coasts of Mauritania and Africa had greatly harassed the Saracens. . . . Moreover (Bela), king of Hungary, had made peace with the Venetians." He concluded by imploring the emperor to advance the success of the under-

[1] He had the satisfaction of seeing a large Scandinavian fleet sail for Palestine. *Cf.* Bréhier, *Les Croisades*, p. 119, and Jaffé, 16,373 (10,131).

[2] Jaffé, 16,361, 16,486. *Re* the Hospitallers, *ib.*, 16,198.

[3] *Ib.*, 16,619, 16,634.

[4] Really Hugo or Hugh III. (1162–1192).

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taking in every way he could.[1] How far Clement was successful in this appeal may be inferred from the fact that Sibyl, once queen of Jerusalem, had to inform Barbarossa in the summer of 1189 that Isaac had made an impious treaty with Saladin, and that the Greek's envoys were not to be trusted.[2] By their treachery the Byzantines were rapidly filling up the measure of their iniquities, and, before twenty years have elapsed, we shall see an angry Western host storming the city of Constantinople, driving thence in ignominy the successors of the great Constantine, and placing on the throne of the Cesars Latins whom those Cesars prevented from occupying the throne of Jerusalem.

(*b*) To the Armenians.

Clement also put himself in communication with the Armenians, who at this period seem to have been disposed to favour Saladin.

When first we had occasion to mention Armenia in the days of St. Gregory I., the name referred to the high table-land south of the Caucasus and west of the Caspian Sea, stretching to the south as far as the mountains of Kurdistan and to the west as far as Asia Minor. This country, even in the days of Gregory partly subject to the Byzantine Empire, became at length wholly dependent upon it or upon the Moslems. At the time of the pontificate of Clement III. it was for the most part under the dominion of the infidels, but the Greeks still held the north-west portion between Ani and the Caucasus, though Ani[3] itself had been captured in 1064 by the Seljukian Turks.

[1] Jaffé, 16,373 (10,131), quoting Reusneri, *Epist. Turc.*, p. 16.

[2] Ep. ap. Tageno, dean of Passau, who accompanied Frederick's expedition, and wrote: *Descrip. expedit. Asiaticæ Friderici*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. *Cf.* Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosol.*, n. 681. For further evidence of this treachery, *cf. ib.*, nn. 685, 688.

[3] Ani, between Kars and the Arpa-Tchaï, was for a long period the capital of Armenia and the residence of its patriarchs. Only ruins now attest its former magnificence.

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However, about the time when the last two of the native dynasties succumbed to the Greeks or the Moslems (*c.* 1080), Roupen, a relative of the last king (Kakig II.) of the Pagratid dynasty, fled to the fastnesses of the Taurus in Cilicia. Step by step his descendants increased their possessions till they founded the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, between the Taurus range and the sea, became the close allies of the Crusaders, and, "with the kings of Cyprus, the last bulwark of Christianity in the East." Their rule was brought to an end by the Mamelukes of Egypt, who in 1375 captured their last king, Leo (or Ghevond VI.).

Residing at Rom-cla, the modern Rum Kalah, situated at the most northerly extremity of the great western bend of the Euphrates, the Armenian Catholicus, Gregory IV. (Dgha or Tela, the Child, 1173–93), would appear to have been, nominally at least, subject to the Byzantine Empire. Hence perhaps it is no proof that he was playing a double game if, following the lead of Isaac, he wrote (*c.* July 1190) to Saladin informing him of the doings of the German army, of the drowning of Frederick, and of the miserable state to which his army had been reduced.[1]

However this may be, he had, like some of his more immediate predecessors,[2] long been in communication with Rome. According to his contemporary, the Armenian historian Vartan of Partzepert, "he turned to the Pope, and as those of old were wont to do, he sent to ask his help and his blessing."[3] He accordingly despatched

[1] Röhricht, *Regesta*, n. 694, with its note. Tournebize, *Hist. de l'Arm.*, p. 185 n., says that the letter would rather appear to be the work of Kagigh, the son of Gregory, the son of Vassil, as is even insinuated by the Arab author, Bohadin, who quotes it.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vol. ix. p. 134 ff.

[3] Quoted by Tournebize, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, p. 257 f., Paris, 1911. We are following closely this authoritative work. Vartan's work is to be found in Dulaurier, *Documents Arméniens*. The extract in the text occurs *ib.*, p. 438.

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Gregory, bishop of Philippolis, to Pope Lucius III., whom he found at Verona (1184). In the letter which the envoy bore to the Pope, his master professed his filial submission to the Roman pontiff, begged him to intercede with the Byzantine emperor in behalf of the persecuted Armenians, explained to him the injustice of some of the charges made by the Greeks against the faith of the Armenians, and requested him to furnish him with an instruction on the discipline of the Roman Church.

The reply of the Pope, sent off at the end of the year 1184 (December 3), is most paternal, and the pallium and mitre which he himself had worn and which accompanied the letter were additional proofs of his affectionate regard for the *Catholicus*. Lucius praises the Armenians for their love of unity with Rome, and begs them to pray God that they may become one with Him, "and with that rock, that corner-stone, which joins the two walls together, and from them makes one dwelling." Moreover, "since their faith is orthodox,"[1] he begs them to amend certain matters of liturgical practice; as, for instance, he exhorts them to mingle a little water with the wine at the Holy Sacrifice, and to consecrate the holy oils on Holy Thursday, etc. Finally, to help them in carrying out these directions, he sent them copies of the Roman Ritual and Pontifical.[2]

The correspondence with Armenia begun by Pope Lucius was continued by Pope Clement. He told Gregory of the Crusaders whom he had roused to go to rescue the Holy Land from the Saracens, and begged him to aid the

[1] "Cum vero fidei professio apud vos *prorsus sit recta*," etc. We are here quoting from the extract of the letter given by Balgy, *Hist. doct. Cath. inter Armenos*, p. 55. The document was preserved by the Armenian writer Bishop Nerses of Lampron. *Cf.* Jaffé, 15,340. On this most distinguished Oriental (†1198), see Somal, *Quadro della storia letter. di Armenia*, pp. 94-98, or Tournebize, p. 259 ff., and *passim*.

[2] Balgy, p. 57.

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expedition and to share in the indulgences offered to it. Following the example of Pope Lucius, he also sent him a Roman ritual. He furthermore made the same request of Leo II., prince of (Lesser) Armenia, whom he styles "the Mountaineer," as he had made of the patriarch.[1] These letters were not in vain. The Armenians proved true friends of the soldiers of the cross, and we shall see "the Mountaineer" appealing to Clement's successor for a crown.

The action of the Armenians at this period, it may be noted, made no little sensation in the West. Not unnaturally, one of those specially influenced was the impressionable Joachim of Fiore, who was looking for the end of the world, which he supposed to be rapidly approaching. The saintly abbot speaks of the Armenians, "whom we ourselves saw at Jerusalem, instant in fasting and prayer, and more devoted to the faith of Rome than all the other churches of those parts which are not subject to the Latin kingdom."[2] He also tells of "their lately coming to the Roman pontiff and asking to say Mass with unleavened bread, and to conform to the rite of the holy Roman Church."[3]

Negotiations for the imperial crown for Henry VI.

One of the results of the third Crusade which Clement lived long enough to see, viz., the death of the Emperor Frederick, filled him not merely with regret, but also with alarm. If Barbarossa had at times scourged Italy and the Papacy with whips, his son Henry had given every indication that he was prepared to scourge them with scorpions. Besides, Henry had personal grievances against the

[1] Jaffé, 16,461–3. [2] *Super IV. Evangelia*, fol. 190.

[3] *Ib.*, fol. 197. *Cf. ib.*, fol. 218 v°. "Episcopum Armenorum conversum ex magna parte ad ritum S. Matris Ecclesie nuper sub Urbano (Lucio?) papa, ipso postulante, didicimus." These three quotations have been taken from Fournier, *Joachim de Flore*, p. 25.

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Papacy. When, in order to fix the imperial crown in his family, Frederick had requested Lucius III. to bestow it upon his son even before he had himself vacated it by resignation or death, the Pope had properly refused the request.[1] Frederick was not, however, inclined to let the matter drop, and, as Clement had in the affair of Volmar of Trier[2] shown himself well disposed towards him, he renewed his petition very strongly before he set out for the East.[3] Clement promised to accede to the emperor's desires;[4] but, being a master in the art of diplomatic procrastination, he contrived to delay the fulfilment of his promise, so that Frederick departed for the Holy Land and died without seeing the accomplishment of one of the dearest wishes of his heart.

Whilst the disappointment incident on continued failure to obtain the imperial crown was still rankling in Henry's breast, there reached him the news of the death of William II. of Sicily (November 1189), and, at least, a report that the election of his rival Tancred had been approved by the Pope. Whether Clement did or did not give his assent to the Sicilians' choice of Tancred as their king, there is certainly no evidence that he took any steps to secure for Henry the rights which he claimed through his wife Constance.

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 270.

[2] *Supra*, p. 252 ff.

[3] Jaffé, 16,104–5, and 16,318–9. The dates of these four letters to Frederick and Henry are uncertain. In the letter to Frederick assigned by Jaffé to August 1188, Clement notifies that he has sent to him two cardinals and Leo de Monumento with letters to say that without further delay he is ready to crown Henry and his wife Constance: "quod omni occasione remota coronationem adimplere se præparet." No. 16,318.

[4] Hence Henry had caused (1189) the nobles who had remained at home ("et eos maxime qui ministeriales imperii essent") to swear to accompany him to Rome in the autumn of 1190, that he might be there crowned emperor—"quatinus in augustum ipse consecrari debuisset Romæ." *Chron. regiæ Colon.*, an. 1189.

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Furious at what he regarded as the usurpation of Tancred, but unable, through difficulties at home, to take the field himself, Henry sent troops into Apulia in the spring of the year 1190. They had, however, to withdraw in the summer (August) without effecting anything of importance.[1]

Henry demands the imperial crown from the Pope, 1190.

With his temper still further exasperated at this failure, Henry received about the month of November the news of his father's death (†June 10, 1190). He at once sent envoys to Rome to demand the imperial crown from the Pope and from the senators.[2] This he could do with the greater assurance because he had made peace with his principal domestic foe, Henry the Lion, of Saxony, apparently in the month of July. When in their master's name his ambassadors had promised that the future emperor would not molest the freedom of the Pope and the city, but would observe the old laws and customs, Clement assured them that he and the Romans would acknowledge him as emperor, and that he would crown him in the following Easter (1191).[3]

Henry enters Italy.

Accordingly, in the early part of the year 1191, no doubt as soon as the passes of the Alps were open, Henry with his wife entered Italy with a powerful army, and marched towards Rome.[4]

How great was the anxiety of Pope Clement at this juncture we may conjecture from a letter which he wrote

[1] *Gesta Ric.* (Benedict), an. 1190, ii. 140, R. S.

[2] "Pacatis sibi omnibus hominibus suis, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem p. et ad senatores urbis Romanæ, petens sibi Romanum imperium, et promittens se in omnibus leges et dignitates Romanas servaturum illæsas." *Ib.*, p. 145.

[3] *Ib.*, and Roger of H., 1190, iii. 74, R. S. In 1191 Easter Sunday fell on April 19.

[4] Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. 4. *Cf. Annal. Marbacenses*, an. 1190, ed. Bloch, p. 62.

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some time before[1] to Cardinal John of Anagni, whom he had sent into England as his legate to end the dispute between the archbishop and monks of Canterbury. The death of William of Sicily, "of illustrious memory," and the death of many of the cardinals at the very time when great difficulties had arisen had put, he said, him in the direst need of trusty counsellors. Hence, as soon as ever his business in England was accomplished, John must come to him without a moment's delay.

Clement's last days were also embittered by the importunities of the Romans clamouring to him to assist them to take Tusculum as he had promised. He had continually put them off, but their patience was almost at an end.[2]

Death of Clement, March (?) 1191.

Unable to bear the pressure of the Romans urging him to do a deed he loathed, and overwhelmed with anxiety as to Henry's feelings towards him on account of the Sicilian succession, Clement had no strength to resist the advance of death. He departed this life in March, but on what day cannot be stated with certainty.[3] He was buried in the Lateran basilica, "before the choir of the canons,"[4] *i.e.*, about the middle of the central nave, as the choir used formerly to be in front of the high altar.[5]

The Affairs of England and Scotland.

Dealings of Clement with Scotland and England which have already been discussed.

Concerning the more strictly local dealings of Clement, some have already been discussed, and, with regard to the

[1] Probably in 1190. The letter is to be found on p. 321 of the *Epp. Cantuar.*, R. S.

[2] *Gesta Ric.*, an. 1190, ii. 147, R. S. "Papa eos protrahens de die in diem, tradere eam (Tusculum) illis distulit."

[3] *Cf.* Jaffé, sub 16,674. There is a strange dearth of satisfactory authorities regarding Henry and Clement at this period.

[4] John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, n. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1387.

[5] Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 451 n.

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others, we can scarcely do more than, in accordance with our plan, briefly delineate some of his relations with England.

More than once before in these pages it has been told that Clement III. definitely freed the Church of Scotland from all dependence on the Church of England, making it immediately subject to the Apostolic See, establishing therein the sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness, and declaring that it was unlawful for anyone but the Roman pontiff or his legate *a latere* to pronounce sentence of interdict or excommunication against the kingdom of Scotland.[1]

Richard I., of the Lion Heart, soon after his succession, wrote to Clement expressing his profound grief at the loss of Jerusalem and his fear "lest (which God avert) with the standard of the Faith, the Faith itself also be trodden under foot." He then strongly appealed to the Pope in behalf of Archbishop Baldwin against the monks of Canterbury, and, as was his wont, threatened violence if no heed were paid to his wishes. "We will," he wrote, "more resolutely lay on them the hands of our royal severity, unless the wisdom of the Apostolic See stand in the gap, to crush the haughtiness of these monks, and by its equitable decision restore peace and his rights to the archbishop, a man of simplicity, piety, and discretion."[2] How far Clement's "equitable decision" was in accordance

[1] *Cf.* Roger of Hov., an. 1188, who gives the Pope's letter, ii. 360 f., R. S. The tenth see of Argyll was added about 1200. *Cf.* Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, p. 12. *Cf. supra*, under the biography of Lucius III., for a fuller account of Clement's relations with Scotland.

[2] Ep. Ric., ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 53, or *P. L.*, t. 204, p. 1505. It is the first letter translated by J. O. Halliwell in his *Letters of the Kings of England*, London, 1846.

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with the wishes of Richard and Archbishop Baldwin, the reader will find by referring back to the biography of Urban III.

On account of the spirit of independence oft displayed by monastic chapters, a spirit which by its cleansing and bracing properties is from time to time of as much use in the Church and in the State as is a strong gale to a city or a country, several bishops in England and Ireland were about this time endeavouring to replace chapters of monks by chapters of secular canons. But as the struggle of Archbishop Baldwin with the monks of Canterbury has already been unfolded at some length, there is no need to set forth here the dispute between Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Chester or Coventry, with the monks of the chapter of Coventry. Their expulsion by Hugh and their restoration by the legate Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, are told by Roger of Hoveden.[1] It remains, then, to speak of Clement's intercourse with some of our more distinguished countrymen who, for one cause or another, came into contact with him. We may limit our notices to Geoffrey, a natural son of Henry II., and to William Lonchamp, chancellor and bishop of Ely.

Geoffrey, brother of Richard I.

By the commanding influence of his father, Geoffrey, who proved himself to be at least a dutiful son, and possessed of undoubted courage, was elected to the see of Lincoln (1173) at a very early age, perhaps when he was no more than fourteen years old.[2] But though Pope Alexander III. confirmed the election,[3] still, finding that the youth showed no signs of taking orders, he at length in 1181 insisted that he must either be ordained or lose his

[1] Ann. 1191 and 1197, iii. p. 168, and iv. p. 35, R. S. *Cf. supra.*

[2] Dixon, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. p. 252, ed. Raine.

[3] *Cf. Gesta Ric.* (Benedict), an. 1175, i. 93, R. S.; Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1174, i. 392 f.; an. 1182, ii. 10, R. S.

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Existing remains of the Palace of Clement III.
near S. Maria Maggiore.
From Biasiotti, *La Basilica Esquilina di S. Maria.*

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see.[1] Although three more years' grace were obtained from Rome,[2] Geoffrey resigned his see, and became chancellor of England.

Elected to the see of York, 1189.

On the death of Henry, Richard, in filling up the vacant sees of England, nominated Hubert Walter, dean of York, to the see of Salisbury, William Lonchamp, the royal chancellor, to that of Ely, and, in accordance with the dying wish of his father, Geoffrey to the see of York. He is also said to have sent letters to the chapter of the church of York bidding them under threats to elect his brother.[3] Although some important members of their body were absent, the canons duly elected Geoffrey. The absentees at once appealed to Rome,[4] and, though the archbishop-elect attempted to establish himself by force, they were able, with the assistance of the queen-mother Eleanor, "who hated Geoffrey with a stepmother's hate," to obtain a mandate from Richard that the status of the see should

[1] Ep. 75 of Peter of Blois to Roger, dean of Lincoln. "D. Cantuariensis recepit a summo pontifice in mandatis, ut compellat electum (of Lincoln) consecrationis munus et officium episcopale suscipere, aut ibi alium, . . . non differat ordinare." Ap. *P. L.*, t. 207. *Cf.* Roger of H., an. 1181, ii. 254, R. S. Roger proceeds to quote Geoffrey's letter of resignation to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, "as to his metropolitan, and as specially delegated by the Apostolic See to deal with this affair." He opens his letter by saying that he is aware of the apostolic mandate: "Placuit majestati apostolicæ vestræ injungere sanctitati ut me certo tempore vocaretis ad suscipiendum ordinem sacerdotis et pontificalis oficii dignitatem."

[2] "De novo consecrationem electi distulit in triennium Romana Ecclesia." Peter, *l.c.* This quotation corrects a mistake in Dixon.

[3] Will. of New., iv. 2; *Gesta Ric.*, an. 1189, ii. 73, R. S.; Roger of H., an. 1189, iii. 7, R. S.; Giraldus Cambrensis in his laudatory *Life* of Geoffrey tells that Henry when dying told Geoffrey how he had hoped to see him archbishop of York (*Vit. Galf.*, i. 5, iv. p. 371, R. S.).

[4] Roger, *ib.*; *Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 77. The principal opponent of Geoffrey was Hubert Walter, who was nominated by some in opposition to Geoffrey (*Vit. G.*, *l.c.*, c. 6), and who had many years before (1186) been proposed as a candidate for the same see (*Gesta Hen.*, an. 1186, i. 352, R. S.).

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revert to the condition in which it had been in his father's lifetime. In virtue of this decision, Hubert Walter took charge of the spiritual concerns of the diocese, and the old officials again took possession of its temporalities.[1] To this Geoffrey retorted by refusing to instal several clerics to whom Richard had granted certain offices in the archdiocese, on the ground that until he had received the pallium, or had received confirmation of his election from the Pope, he could not act as archbishop.[2]

Furious at this opposition, the king seized his brother's property both in England and on the Continent, and prevented his envoys from setting out for Rome to obtain the pallium (October 1189).[3] Moreover, when the papal legate John of Anagni landed in England (December), every effort was made to induce him to declare Geoffrey's election null. But in the Pope's name John decided that it was valid, and confirmed it by a formal document which was afterwards approved by the Pope.[4] Convinced, however, that it was hopeless to kick against the goad, Geoffrey purchased the king's good-will with a large sum of money, and still further satisfied him by duly installing his nominees.[5]

But neither brother could long endure the pride of the other, and when in 1190 Geoffrey had to appear before

[1] *Gesta*, *ib.*, p. 78.

[2] Roger, *ib.*, pp. 17 and 19. "Dicens quod non mitteret in stallos, donec electio sua confirmata esset a summo pontifice." *Cf. Gesta*, pp. 88, 91.

[3] *Gesta*, p. 91 f.; Roger, p. 17.

[4] Those whom Geoffrey had refused to instal called him before the legate: "homicida erat, et in adulterio genitus et de scorta natus." John "eam (the election) auctoritate qua fungebatur, vice Clementis summi pontificis affirmavit, et sigilli sui munimine corroboravit." *Gesta*, p. 99. Clement confirmed his legate's action (March 7, 1190), especially because Alexander III. had granted a dispensation from the irregularity incurred by Geoffrey's illegitimacy: "præsertim cum . . . Alexander P . . . circa personam ejus dispensaverit." Ep. 137.

[5] *Gesta*, p. 100; Roger, p. 27; Will. of New., iv. 2.

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the king in Normandy without the money he had promised him (March 1190), Richard's anger against him revived, and he endeavoured to obtain from Rome a decree annulling his brother's election.[1] But he was too late. Geoffrey's envoys had already arrived in Rome, and, as we have seen, had secured Clement's sanction of the action of his legate (March). They were met by the king's messengers as they were on the way with the pallium for the new archbishop.[2] Richard then exacted an oath from him not to return to England before three years were over;[3] but, before he left France, he appears to have revoked his prohibition.[4]

Geoffrey's difficulties were, however, far from being over. Archbishop Baldwin, before he set out for the Crusade, had forbidden him to receive ordination or consecration from any hands but his, and had endeavoured to obtain the sanction of the Pope for this prohibition.[5] Canterbury was again endeavouring to assert its supremacy over York. Moreover, though Geoffrey had obtained from Clement permission to be consecrated by any archbishop, Richard, who was always jealous of his brother, had in parting from him secretly forbidden any bishop in his dominions to consecrate him.[6] Besides this, other enemies whom he had made at home in his diocese made such a case against him at Rome that Clement suspended his confirmation of

[1] Giraldus, *Vit. Galf.*, i. 10.

[2] *Ib.* "Sed hi (Richard's envoys) clericos nostri electi, quos ex industria præmiserat et cautela, a curia redeuntes obvios habuerunt cum pallio quod impetraverant et electionis a summo pontifice indulta confirmatione."

[3] Richard of Devizes, *Chron.*, n. 18; *Gesta Ric.* (Benedict), an. 1190, ii. 106, R. S.

[4] Giraldus, *l.c.*, c. 11.

[5] *Gesta* (Bened.), an. 1189, p. 86. "Et super hoc ad sedem apostolicam appellavit." *Cf.* Roger, iii. 16, R. S.

[6] Giraldus, *ib.*

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Geoffrey's election.[1] But unexpected forces were now at work for Geoffrey. It would appear that Richard had begun to fear the ambition of his chancellor, William, bishop of Ely, and of the northern justiciar, Hugh de Puiset. To counteract their influence, he bade his mother Eleanor use her influence with the Pope to secure the confirmation of Geoffrey as archbishop. She had come to visit him in Sicily (March 30, 1191), bringing with her his future wife, Berengaria. Four days after her arrival, she began her return journey to England, "with the intention of passing through Rome to treat of the affair of Geoffrey; . . . for through her the king of England sent word to the Supreme Pontiff, and humbly entreated him to confirm the election of the said Geoffrey and consecrate him archbishop of York, or else to allow him to be consecrated by someone else."[2]

When Queen Eleanor reached Rome, it would seem that Clement had passed to his reward.[3] In any case, even if it was Clement who acceded to her request, it was Celestine III. who instructed the archbishop of Tours to consecrate him at once—all things to the contrary notwithstanding.[4] Accordingly, on August 18, Geoffrey was con-

[1] *Gesta*, 1190, p. 146. "Nec confirmare electionem suam voluit, nec ei pallium mitteret." *Cf.* Roger, iii. 74. Hugh de Puiset (or de Pudsey), the powerful bishop of Durham, was also striving at this time to obtain from Rome exemption from the archbishop of York—"magnam, ut ibi mos est, negotia magna gerentibus pecuniam profundens." Giraldus, i. 12.

[2] Roger of H., 1191, iii. 100.

[3] The probabilities are that Clement died some time in March (*cf. supra*, p. 370); but Roger and the *Gesta Ric.* (Benedict) say that he died on April 10. If so, the queen will have transacted her business with him.

[4] "Præterea litteras d. Papæ attulerunt Turonensi archiepiscopo districte injungentes, quatinus Eboracensi, omni contradictione et appellatione cessante, munus consecrationis impenderet." Giraldus, *Vit. Galf.*, i. 12. The *Gesta* itself (an. 1191, ii. 209) says it was Celestine who gave the order to Bartholomew of Tours to consecrate Geoffrey, and who sent him the pallium. The same Pope also ordered Hugh of Durham ("in vi obedientiæ præcepit") to tender canonical obedience

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secrated at St. Martin's, Tours, with no little pomp. The abbot of St. Martin (Marmoutier-lez-Tours, Majus Monasterium) brought him the pallium. In receiving it, Geoffrey took the usual oath to receive with due respect the legates of the Roman Church, not to interfere with appeals, and to pay his visit *ad limina* every third year either in person or by deputy.[1]

The chancellor William Lonchamp, who had done everything he could to prevent Geoffrey's consecration, now forbade him to come to England, on the ground that he had promised the king not to enter the land for three years. The new archbishop naturally paid no heed to this prohibition, but was soon on English soil at Dover. The satellites of the chancellor, however, at once seized him, and inflicted the greatest indignities upon him.[2]

This, however, was the regent's last act of tyranny. The clergy, nobility, and people were indignant at this outrage offered to an archbishop, and a king's son. William was compelled to release Geoffrey, and to fly from the arms and anger of his enemies first to the Tower of London, and then abroad.

We do not intend to follow the turbulent career of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, any further. His gross want of tact, begotten of a proud, irascible nature, was perpetually involving him in strife with Hugh of Durham, who endeavoured to induce Celestine to recall his mandate requiring his offering canonical obedience to Geoffrey; with his own canons of York; with the intriguer Prince

to the archbishop of York. Ep. of May 11, 1191, ap. Stubbs in his preface to Hoveden, iii. p. lxviii n. *Cf.* Will. of New., iv. 17; Roger, iii. 138, R. S.

[1] Diceto, *Ymag.*, an. 1191, ii. 96, R. S.; Giraldus, *Vit.*, i. 13.

[2] Will. of N., and Diceto, *ll. cc.*; Giraldus, ii. 1; *Gesta Ric.* (Bened.), ii. 210 ff.; Richard of Devizes, c. 44 ff. The last-named author has a better opinion of the chancellor than the others.

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John; with King Richard on his return to England from the Crusade; and with King John on the death of his brother of the Lion Heart. King John was too strong for Geoffrey. He had to flee from England in 1207, and never returned to it (†1212). These broils involved both Celestine III.[1] and Innocent III., who, if they had at times even to punish Geoffrey, were also naturally bound to do all they could for an archbishop in trouble. Like so many other prelates of this age who were called to rule the Church of God, not on account of the possession of suitable qualities, but because they were the favourites of kings, Geoffrey was wholly unfit for the mitre. By taste and education he was a soldier and a hunter, but not a priest.[2]

This much have we told of his life to give a fuller idea of the activities of Clement III. But, if anyone should feel disposed to follow the wild course of such a typical Plantagenet as Geoffrey, the references in the note appended to this paragraph will enable him to do so to the best advantage.[3]

William Longchamp, bishop of Ely.

Even as much of the story of Geoffrey of York as we have just given will have familiarised the reader with the name of William Longchamp, whose physical and moral

[1] The following list from Jaffé will give some idea of Celestine's numerous communications with Geoffrey or concerning him. Nos. 16,829; 16,939; 17,108; 17,121; 17,300–2 dealing with Celestine's suspension of Geoffrey; 17,631; 17,634.

[2] This Geoffrey himself did not attempt to deny, but said that, if he was to become archbishop of York, he must be allowed at times to hunt with hound and hawk. "Prædictæ namque personæ (viz. those who came to announce his election to the see of York), quoniam alias assensum ab ipso extorquere non poterant, canum et aviurn cursu volatuque, quibus tam natura quam nutritura delectabatur, uti posse interdum ex industria consenserunt, dum tamen alias episcopali officio propensius indulgendo, justitiam et æquitatem observaret." Giraldus, *in vit. Galf.*, i. 6.

[3] Dixon's biography already quoted. Miss Kate Norgate, as usual, writes in an interesting manner about him in her *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii. p. 155, etc. *Cf.* the *Diction. of National Biography*, s.v. Geoffrey.

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deformities are painted in the strongest colours by Giraldus Cambrensis. That lively author was never wont to present his readers with a hazy picture, and, as William was a strong opponent of one of the Welshman's heroes, a personality purporting to be that of the bishop of Ely is put prominently before us in bold but lurid outlines. Giraldus depicts[1] in William Lonchamp a man low in birth and in stature, and deformed in body and in moral character, and yet a man who, because he was a Norman, regarded himself as of a superior race, and despised the English. Ignorant of the English language, and not understanding the ways of the English people, he was at no pains to conciliate them. But, if he domineered over those whom he despised, he was haughty towards those who would naturally be accounted his equals. Against all this, however, has to be set his loyalty to his master Richard, both before and after he became king, and his political sagacity.

When Richard succeeded to the throne of his father, he made William his chancellor, procured his election to the see of Ely, and, as Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, had taken the cross, he induced the Pope to make his trusted minister legate "of all England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland";[2] "in order that," says Richard of Devizes, "triple-titled, and triple-headed, he might use both hands instead of the right alone, and that the sword of Peter might aid the sword of the general."[3] However, from the

[1] *Vit. Galf.*, ii. 19, iv. 420, R. S. Giraldus jeers at his despicable stature, his lame and bandy legs, his enormous feet, his pot-belly, big head, swarthy skin, black and deep-sunk eyes, and hairy face—a cross between that of a dog and an ape—and sinister smile. He was in a word, says the Welshman, nature's supreme effort in ugliness. "Tanquam toto nisu experiendo probans, quantum semel in turpitudine posset, deformiorem in humana figura beluam edere natura non prævaluit." *Cf.* the letter about him of Hugh de Nonant, another of his enemies, ap. *Gesta Ric.* (Bened.), an. 1191, ii. 215 ff., R. S.

[2] Giraldus, *ib.*, p. 422.

[3] *Chron.*, n. 16, al. 17.

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actual bull of Pope Clement, it appears that there is no mention of Scotland at all, and with regard to Ireland, William is only made legate of those parts over which Prince John "had jurisdiction and dominion" (June 5, 1190).[1]

When Richard set out for the Holy Land, he left the bishop regent of the kingdom. It appears to be the general consent of his contemporaries that he executed his charge so arbitrarily and haughtily as to have alienated the sympathy of his friends, and to have supplied his enemies and the enemies of King Richard with excuses in plenty for acting against him.[2] "The laity felt him to be a king, and more than a king . . . the clergy, a Pope and more than a Pope; and, indeed, both of them an intolerable tyrant."[3] But, as we have seen, his last high-handed act was his arrest and violent treatment of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

William appeals to Pope Celestine, 1191.

Though, in consequence of this, he had to fly the country, he was not the kind of man to acquiesce even in a serious reverse. He at once turned to the new Pope Celestine, who in the first place renewed his legatine powers which had expired with the death of Clement,[4] and then wrote to the bishops of England (December 2, 1191) reminding

[1] Ap. Diceto, *Ymag.*, an. 1190, ii. 83, R. S.

[2] *Cf.* Will. of New., iv. 14. [3] *Ib.*

[4] *Gesta Ric.* (Bened.), an. 1191, ii. 207. This was certainly before December 2, 1911, and seems to have been in September; for Giraldus, *in vit. Galf.*, ii. 13, says that before his legatine commission was renewed, he had continued to act as legate for half a year (March to September): "quamquam tamen, post præmissam quæ Clemente extincto expiraverat, legationem, se nihilominus legatum se gerens in præjudicium ecclesiæ Romanæ, . . . per dimidium fere anni spatium, crucem sibi indebite præferri, ex nimia tam præsumptione quam superbia non formidasset." Hugh de Nonant in similar language says mistakenly "for a year and a half," ap. *Gesta R.*, ii. 219. It was not till the days of Clement IV. that it was decided that the office of legate was not to expire with the Pope who bestowed it. This we learn from the *Liber Sext. Decretal.* of Boniface VIII., lib. i. tit. xv. c. 2, ed. Friedberg, ii. 984.

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them that, when King Richard took the cross, he placed his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See. Hence, as he has heard that Prince John and others have conspired against William, bishop of Ely, *legate* of the Apostolic See, to whom the king had entrusted the care of the kingdom in his absence, they must excommunicate those who have outraged William, if his allegations are true.[1] But, no doubt on the ground that William's contentions were to all practical purposes false, "for they did not account him either legate or the king's chancellor," not a single bishop made any effort to execute the Pope's mandate;[2] nor is there any evidence that the Pope made any effort to enforce his commands. He must in the meantime have heard more of the doings of William, bishop of Ely.

Once or twice his own devices enabled the bishop to return again to England, but only for a brief space on each occasion. The people would have none of him, and even King Richard, on his return from the Holy Land and his German captivity, does not appear to have made any effort to re-establish him in England, though he continued to bestow his confidence upon him and to employ him regularly till his death (January 1197).[3]

Labours of Clement for the people.

Although we are unable now to follow the traces of Clement in Norway, Livonia, Spain, or Ragusa,[4] a word or two may be said on his efforts to ameliorate the condition of one class or other of the more dependent sections of the

[1] Ap. *Gesta*, ii. 221 ff. [2] *Ib.*, p. 225.

[3] Of the personal character of William it is not easy to judge; as against the bad character given to him by Giraldus, Hugh of Nonant (both strong partisans), William of Newburgh, and Richard of Devizes, there has to be set the good character given him by the monks of Winchester, Nigel Wireker, Peter of Blois (ap. *Anglia Sacra*, i. 302, 632), and by the monks of Canterbury, who praise his prudence and legal skill; ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 538, R. S. This note is due to Stubbs, *ib.*, p. lxxxii.

[4] Jaffé, 16,379; 16,578; 16,590; 16,289; and 16,453.

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community. In the interests of the poorer students in the University of Bologna, he confirmed an already existing legatine ordinance forbidding masters or scholars to offer a landlord a higher rent for a house already occupied by scholars; and, to ensure the observance of his decree, commanded it to be read every year by the bishop of the city "in the presence of the masters and the scholars."[1]

To show that he was really a "pontiff," we find him granting an indulgence of thirty days to all the faithful of the kingdom of Sicily, of Tuscany, and of Genoa who helped to build a bridge.[2] In conclusion, we may contemplate him patronising work for the redemption of captives,[3] and, true to the traditions of the Popes, protecting the Jews from the savage violence of their neighbours.[4]

[1] Savioli, *Annali Bolognese*, II. ii. p. 160, ap. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, i. 149.

[2] Jaffé, 16,132.

[3] Jaffé, 16,316.

[4] *Ib.*, 16,577. A Jew, the Rev. D. Wasserzug, has in *The Jewish World* recently been noting: "Though the Jews were never wholly secure against the ferocious outbreaks of peoples who had none of them fully emerged from the savage state, it would be unjust as well as unhistorical not to acknowledge the efforts of many Popes and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries to accord them the protection of the Church." The first Pope named by the learned doctor is Gregory X., but he then very properly proceeds to show that to afford protection to the Jews against violence was the work of the Papacy from the days of St. Gregory I. *Cf. The Tablet* newspaper, September 16, 1911.

Leaden Bulla of Clement III.

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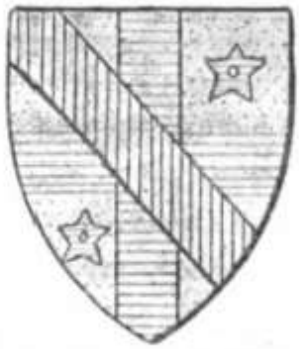

Or, a cross azure. In second and third quarters a star of five rays of the same. Over all a bend gules.

CELESTINE III.

A.D. 1191–1198.

Sources.—In addition to the English and foreign authors we have already enumerated, a brief mention may be made of Magnus, a canon of Ratisbon († 1195). He has left us valuable material for the history of the twelfth century in the shape of a Chronicle from the year of our Lord to 1195, and of the *Annales Reicherspergenses* from 921 to 1167; both ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 439 ff. A continuation of the *Annales* to 1279 will be found in the same place. The *Ymagines Historiarum* of Ralph de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's (edited by Stubbs, along with his threadbare Chronicle, in 2 vols., R. S., 1876), like all our other histories of the period, supplies us with much useful matter for the *Lives* of the Popes. Ralph (b. *c.* 1120, † *c.* 1203) seems to have begun to put together the *Ymagines* about the year 1188; but, though the work begins with the year 1147, there is very little original matter in it before the year 1180. It comes to a close with the beginning of the year 1202, and is properly regarded as a careful and impartial production.

Because the registers of Celestine have perished, by far the greatest number of the 330 letters and privileges assigned to him by Migne (*P. L.*, t. 206) have only a local interest, as they refer, for the most part, merely to the monastery or church in which they were preserved. The same volume of the Patrologia also contains a number of *decrees* of Celestine, and a number of letters addressed to him by others. His letters are dated by the year of

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his pontificate, and his bulls bear the motto: "Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis."

Modern Works.—Studien zur Geschichte P. Cœlestins III., a dissertation by J. Leineweber, Jena, 1905. This work is valuable, though want of data makes its author rather too ready to use conjecture: "oft Hypothesen aufstellen müssen," p. 2. It is not so much a biography as a thesis written to prove that Celestine throughout his dealings with the emperor regarded him purely as a rival.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

WESTERN EMPERORS.	KING OF ENGLAND.	KING OF FRANCE.
Henry VI., 1190–1197.	Richard I., 1189–1199.	Philip II., Augustus, 1180–1223.
Otto IV., 1197–1212. } Rivals.		
Philip II., 1197–1208. }		

EASTERN EMPERORS.

Isaac II., Angelus, 1185–1195.
Alexius III., Angelus, 1195–1203.

THE weak heart of Clement III. had proved unable to stand the strain of the worry caused him by the importunate demands of the Romans for the destruction of Tusculum, and by the advance on Rome of Henry VI., whose approach he had every reason to dread. He died in March, possibly on March 28; and, if that were the correct date, then the election of his successor took place on the canonical third day after Clement's demise (March 30).[1]

Election of the aged Hyacinth Bobo, March 30, 1191.

The choice of the cardinals fell upon another of the veterans trained by Alexander III., upon the learned[2]

[1] Magnus, *Chron.*, an. 1191, "Electus . . . 3 Kal. Apr., illo sabbato quando cantabatur officium: 'Sitientes;'" *i.e.*, the eve of Passion Sunday, *i.e.*, in 1191, March 30.

[2] According to Gerhoh, he was "litteratissimus" and "prudens." *De investig. Antichrist.*, i. p. 307, ed. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 307. *Cf. Narratio de canonis. S. Bernwardi*, p. 469, ap. *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.*, i.

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The Theatre of Marcellus in 1575. From Etiénne du Pérac.
(From Hermanin, Die Stadt Rom. By kind permission of E. A. Seemann, Leipzig.)

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Hyacinth Bobo, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, the first of the deacons of the Roman Church.[1] Chiefly, no doubt, on account of his great age, Hyacinth endeavoured to avoid the burden which his fellow-cardinals wished to place upon his shoulders; and it was only when it was made clear to him that the proximity of Henry might cause any delay in electing a Pope to result in a schism that he gave his consent.[2]

Hyacinth Bobo and the Orsini.

The new Pope, a Roman of illustrious birth, was the son of Peter Bobo, and belonged to the region then known as Arenula or Cacabariorum, the modern seventh Rione della Regola.[3] It was the quarter by the Tiber anciently known as that of the Circus Flaminius, stretching between the theatre of Marcellus and the Ponte Sisto or the Pons Antoninus as it was called in the Middle Ages.[4] It was in this quarter that, as we have seen, the Pierleoni had their strongholds, and here also were the towers of another famous Roman family which now makes its appearance in

[1] Diceto, *Ymag. hist.*, an. 1191, ii. 89, R. S. "Electus est . . . per communem cardinalium electionem." *Gesta Ric.* (Bened.), 1191, ii. 161, R. S.

[2] "Jacinctus . . . ne scisma subitum in ecclesia Dei consurgeret, se fieri papam vix tandem consensit." Diceto, *ib.*

[3] *Catal. Cencianus*, ap. Watterich, ii. 708. "Genere nobilissimus, ætate provectus." *Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1191. The regio Ærenula was also called *Cacabariorum* from the "boiler-makers" who, in the Middle Ages, plied their trade in that district. The name appears in connection with one of the churches of our Lady in this locality, S. Maria in Cacaberis, as does the other name of the region in connection with other churches, *e.g.*, S. Sebastiano de Arenula. In the *Mirabilia* we read, "Ad caccavari templum Catriculæ" (ed. Urlichs, p. 112). The Templum C. "was a little west of the Porticus Octavia," which was close to the theatre of Marcellus. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 966, gives a list of the churches in the Rione Regola.

[4] Hence the *Graphia U. Romæ* speaks of the bridge: "Antonini in Arenula," p. 118, ed. Urlichs. One of the papal processions on Christmas Day passed along "the greater way of Arenula." *Ordo Rom. XI.* (of Canon Benedict), c. 16, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78.

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history for the first time, viz., the Orsini—a family which, like the other great papal families, has brought at one time honour, and at another dishonour, on the Papacy.

The author of the *Gesta* of Pope Innocent III. tells us of the doings of certain "sons of *Ursus*, nephews of Pope Celestine III."[1] As Hyacinth, then, was the brother of Ursus, the founder of the Orsini family, he may be fairly described as the first Orsini Pope. Other members of his family are often mentioned in the documents of the twelfth century,[2] and one of his fellow-cardinals, Bobo, first cardinal-deacon of St. Angelo (1182), and then cardinal-bishop of Porto (1189), the friend of Archbishop Baldwin,[3] is said to have been his brother. He himself became cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin as early as December 1144;[4] but he began his public career as the prior of the subdeacons of the Lateran basilica as early as the year 1126.[5] Hence he was in the habit of saying that he had been a levite for sixty-five years (1126–1191).[6] When he became Pope he cannot have been less than eighty-five years of age. We may take it then that he was born in 1105.

[1] *Gesta*, c. 135, ap. *P. L.*, t. 214. "Filli Ursi, quondam Cœlestini papæ nepotes de bonis Ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati." The author then speaks of the "domum Petri Bobonis, ex qua ipsi per patrem descenderant."

[2] *Cf.* the notes to the passage quoted above, ap. *ib.* p. clxxxiii f.

[3] *Cf. Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 301, R. S.

[4] Jaffé, ii. p. 7.

[5] *Ib.*, i. p. 823. "Prior subdiaconorum sacræ basilicæ Hyacinthus d. 21 Jul. 1126." He signs a document of April 22, 1138, as "Prior subdiaconorum sacri palatii." Ap. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pont. ined.*, ii. 295.

[6] Peter of Blois tells us that he had often heard him say so. "Certe dom. Cœlestinus, qui hodie sedet, sicut ex ipsius ore frequenter accepi, in officio levitæ sexaginta quinque annos expleverat, antequam ipsum Dominus in summi pontificatus apicem sublimasset." Ep. 123 to Richard, bishop of London, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207.

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Between the years 1138–1140 Hyacinth appears to have been in France, where he seems to have conceived an admiration for Abelard. At any rate he took up his defence very vigorously, associating himself in this matter even with Arnold of Brescia.[1] He spoke for him at the Council of Sens (1140), and attacked St. Bernard so warmly that the holy abbot complained of his conduct both to Innocent II. and to his chancellor, Cardinal Haimeric, and declared that, in the vehemence of his partisanship, he spared neither the Pope nor the Curia. "Hyacinth," he wrote, "has shown me much ill-will, but has done me no harm, simply because he was unable."[2] Hyacinth a friend of Abelard.

During his long career as cardinal the most important work on which he was engaged outside of Rome and the immediate service of the Pope was in connection with the Church in Spain. We find him in that country as papal legate on at least three separate occasions. He was despatched thither in the first instance by Pope Anastasius IV., apparently in the spring of the year 1154, with the object among other things of enforcing obedience to the archbishop of Toledo as primate.[3] In virtue of this commission the cardinal held a council in Valladolid (*c.* Jan. 5, 1154); but what he did there, except settle certain diocesan boundaries, does not appear to be known.[4] Cardinal-legate in Spain.

Before he left Spain, however, he took steps to enforce the submission of the archbishop of Braga to Toledo, and,

[1] John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pontif.*, c. 31, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx. 537. Arnold, driven from Italy, went to France, attached himself to Abelard "partesque ejus cum d. Jacincto, *qui nunc cardinalis est*, adversus Clarevallensem studiosius fovit."

[2] Ep. Bern., 338 (al. 369). *Cf.* ep. 189.

[3] *Cf.* letters of that Pope to Cardinal Hyacinth, ap. Jaffé, 9859 (6792), and 9901, May 15, 1154.

[4] De la Fuente, *Hist. eccles. de Esp.*, iv. p. 142; but, on the Council of Salamanca, *cf. Boletín de la Real Acad. de la Historia*, 1894, p. 449 ff.

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in response to a general request, preached a Crusade. His preaching is supposed to have had a good result and to have helped the success of Alfonso VII. in 1155.[1]

The cardinal was again in Spain in 1173, holding councils in Leon and in Salamanca, but not always meeting with that obedience from the bishops which he regarded as his due.[2] Finally, in 1187 a mission of reform took him to Spain once more; and, after degrading a number of abbots, he proceeded to Portugal. When, however, he proposed to degrade the bishop of Coimbra, Alfonso I., according to Roger of Hoveden, whom we are quoting, would not allow him to carry out his intention, but threatened to cut off one of his feet unless he left his kingdom forthwith. But, as Alfonso died in 1185, it must have been his fierce, self-willed son Sancho who issued this barbarous order. At any rate, the aged cardinal returned to Rome, and the bishop retained his see.[3]

We have already seen how Hadrian IV. employed him to soothe the anger of Barbarossa, which had been roused by the words and bearing of Cardinal Roland.[4] As he supported Roland (Alexander III.) all through his election troubles,[5] he was much trusted by that Pontiff also, and was often employed by him in the many difficult situations in which he found himself in his exile in France;[6] and till

[1] *Cf.* Leineweber, p. 12 ff., and the authorities cited by him.

[2] Fuente, *ib.* We know of this opposition to the legate's authority from a letter of Pope Alexander III. to the bishop of Zamora, ap. Villanuño, *Summa Concill. Hisp.*, ii. p. 13 f.

[3] Roger, 1187, ii. p. 333.

[4] *Supra*, vol. ix. p. 292 ff.

[5] This is abundantly proved by Leineweber, p. 19 f.

[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 44, and Leineweber, p. 19 ff. With all his suavity, Cardinal Hyacinth could, when the occasion required, display the greatest firmness, as, for instance, when he declared he would sooner lose all he had than agree to an unjust act of King Louis. *Cf.* ep. of the archdeacon of Bourges to Louis, an. 1161, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xvi. 121.

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the day of his own election his incorruptible[1] services were used by one Pope after another.

The monks of Canterbury congratulate him on his election.

A man of the long and varied experience of Cardinal Hyacinth naturally acquired great influence at the papal court,[2] and hence we see the monks of Canterbury anxious to win him over to their side in their dispute with the archbishop. When he was elected Pope, they made haste to congratulate him as their friend, and as the friend of St. Thomas Becket.[3] "When we heard of your Holiness' election," wrote the monks to him, "we rejoiced more than others, because you of your natural goodness have mercifully come to the help of our misery. We recognise the hand of God in your election. For He has called to the chief priesthood one who is no accepter of persons, but who regards truth and innocence, and who with all his might has up to this cherished and loved the Church of God."[4]

Coronation negotiations.

Celestine, however, stood in far greater need of commiseration than of congratulation. His position was

[1] "Non abiistis post aurum." Ep. 45 of St. Thomas to him, ed. Giles.

[2] "Præpotens est in curia," write the monks of Canterbury, ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 68, R. S. *Cf.* ep. 9 of Duke Welf to Hyacinth, ap. Scheidius, *Origines Guelficæ*, ii. 606, quoted by Leineweber, p. 20. "Longo jam tempore, ope vestra, industria atque prudentia, apostolicæ sedis dignitas stetit invicta."

[3] Writing to him whilst still cardinal, the monks declare: "Cui (St. Thomas) pro veritate exulanti sanctitatis vestræ gratia patrocinari non destitit." *Epp. Cant.*, p. 184. The saint himself regarded Cardinal Hyacinth as one of his friends and supporters. There are extant several letters addressed by him to the cardinal, *e.g.*, ap. *Materials for the Hist. of T. Beck.*, v. p. 53, R. S., where the saint speaks of the trust he has in Hyacinth: "in quo maximam habemus fiduciam, tamquam amico nostro præcipuo et patrono." *Cf. ib.*, vi. 214. See also a letter of King Louis to Hyacinth to the same effect. *Inter epp. S. Thom.*, 387, ed. Giles. Some, however, took it for granted that Cardinal Hyacinth was disposed rather to favour King Henry. *Cf.* a letter of Henry's envoys, ap. *Gesta Hen.* (Bened.), i. 21; Roger of H., ii. 27.

[4] *Epp. Cant.*, p. 332 f. The monks here repeat their assertion that Hyacinth was a friend of St. Thomas "quem in terris amastis."

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desperate. Without the city was Henry, king of the Romans, angry with the Papacy for favouring the pretensions of Tancred in Sicily. Inside the city were the Romans, equally angry with it for refusing to help them to obtain possession of Tusculum. When Clement died, Henry, who had had an unopposed march through Lombardy, was entering Tuscany.[1] He was now, with a powerful army, beneath the walls of Rome, disposed to take all the advantage he could of the difficulties which everywhere beset the Pope.

But, old as he was, Celestine could not easily be broken. He turned a deaf ear to the importunate clamours of the Romans for the destruction of Tusculum, and, says Arnold, "seeing the boastfulness of the king," he resolved to defer his own consecration in order to put off that of Henry.[2] The Romans, however, forced the Pope's hand. They approached the king, and, in their eagerness to destroy Tusculum, agreed to support his application for the imperial crown if he would acknowledge their commune, withdraw his garrison from Tusculum, and hand the place over to them,[3] as Pope Clement had promised to do. To

[1] "Tunc in introitu suo in Tusciam, feliciter sibi succedente fortuna sine contradictione et absque sanguinis effusione, mortuo Clemente," etc. Ansbert, *De exped. Frid. imp.*, p. 107, ed. Dobrowsky, 1827, ap. Watterich, ii. 708.

[2] *Chron. Slav.*, v. 4. "Qui (Celestine) videns regem cum multa jactantia venisse," etc.

[3] Roger of H., an. 1191, iii. 104. "In ipsius (Henry) posita erat (Tusculum) potestate. Ad ipsum enim se converterant (the people of Tusculum) et ipsius patrocinium invocarant, ex quo supra nominatus Clemens exposuit . . . illos Romanis." Roger's account of this affair is for the most part all wrong. As far, however, as the presence of an imperial garrison in Tusculum is concerned, we have seemingly the authority of the Annals of Cologne: "Erat enim inimicum eis (Tusculum), eo quod omne munimen imperatoris contra ipsos in illo constabat." *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1191. "Ubi imperator milites suos collocaverat in præsidio." Burchard, *Chron. Urspergens.*, 1192. *Cf. Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1191.

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these conditions Henry agreed. Concealing the concessions they had wrung from the king, the Romans again betook themselves to Celestine. They pointed out to him how the huge army of the king was destroying their corn, their olives, and their grapes, and they begged him to consecrate Henry at once lest everything should be destroyed. They finally assured him that the king's intentions were peaceful, and included the honouring of their city and the offering of due obedience to himself.[1]

Celestine's consecration and Henry's coronation, April 14 and 15.

Perceiving readily enough the understanding between the king and the Romans, Celestine allowed himself to be persuaded, and that too the more easily because Henry in his anxiety to act against Tancred had agreed to restore much that his predecessors had taken from the Church.[2] He therefore caused himself to be ordained priest on Holy Saturday.[3] On the following day (Easter Sunday) he was consecrated (April 14),[4] and, out of the abundance of his generosity,[5] as the senators themselves put on record, granted to all the members of the Senate, which at that period counted more than the legal number of senators, the sum he was only bound to give to the prescribed fifty-six.[6]

There was nothing now to prevent the crowning of Henry. As early as April 2, when he had advanced no further than Anguillara, on the lake of Bracciano, he had

[1] *Chron. Slav.*, *ib.*

[2] *C. Acquicinct.*, *l.c.*

[3] *Gesta Ric.* (Bened.), 1191, ii. 161.

[4] See among many others William, abbot of Andres, near Ardres. He became abbot in 1207, and brought his useful *Chron. Andrense* down to 1234, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. *Cf.* an. 1191, ap. *ib.*, p. 719.

[5] "Vir grandevus ac generosus" is he called by Rob. of Auxerre, *Chron.*, 1191, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 255.

[6] The decree of the Senate declared that this generosity of Celestine was not to form a precedent. It is given by Watterich, ii. 720 n., from Muratori, *Antiquit.*, iv. 35.

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solemnly ratified the oath of security which in his presence the princes of the Empire had taken to the Pope and cardinals regarding their property and that of the Romans during the period of the imperial coronation.[1]

On Easter Monday morning (April 15), Henry and his wife Constance, descending the slopes of Monte Mario (Mons Gaudii),[2] came to the little bridge over the stream which flows down the Valle dell' Inferno between Monte Mario and the Vatican. Here the future emperor swore to observe the "good customs of the Romans"—an oath which he renewed at the Porta Collina (or Gate of St. Peter or Porta Castelli, in front of the castle of St. Angelo), and on the steps of St. Peter's.[3]

Entering the Leonine city by the said Porta Collina, the king and queen made their way to the Church of S. Maria Transpontina, *i.e.*, the Church of the deaconry of St. Mary by the bridge and castle of St. Angelo, "which is close to the Terebinth" of Nero,[4] another mausoleum on the border of the Via Triumphalis of the same style as that of Hadrian. There Henry was formally received by the prefect of the city and the count of the Lateran Palace, and

[1] *Cf.* the *Rouleaux de Cluny* in *Notice et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Imp.*, t. xxi. 326, quoted by Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 627 n. See also *Excerpta Ottoboniana*, 58, ap. Watterich, ii. 711. In the *Collect. ampliss.*, ii. 1225 ff. of Martène and Durand there are printed from the *Codex Ottoboniano* some sixty extracts of letters regarding the Roman Church which were collected by Innocent IV. at Lyons. One of these extracts is cited above.

[2] *Supra*, iv. p. 423 n.

[3] See the close of the *Ordo* of the coronation. This ordo, which appears to have been first used for the coronation of Henry VI., is given in the *Liber Censuum*. We cite Fabre's ed. of the *Liber*, i. p. 1* ff. Some believe that substantially the same form was used at the coronation of Henry III. (1046).

[4] The name Terebinth "seems to be a corruption of *tiburtinum*, which in the language of those days meant an edifice built of stone or marble." Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 177.

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The Coronation of Henry VI. by Celestine III.

At the top of the picture are the towers of Rome, and Henry and his suite. Then we have the meeting of Henry and the Pope in St. Peter's. Celestine is then seen anointing (1) Henry's hands, (2) his arms, and then giving him the sword (hensem). At the base of the picture Henry is receiving (1) the sceptre, (2) the ring, (3) the mitre. (From a miniature in Pietro da Eboli).

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his wife by a *Judex dativus*, and by the *arcarius* (treasurer). Thence they were escorted along the portico by the clergy in their sacred vestments, swinging censers[1] and chanting: "Ecce mitto angelum meum (Behold, I will send my Angel)."

On a platform at the top of the steps before the bronze gates of the oratory of our Lady *in Turri*, situated on the left of the entrance of the atrium of St. Peter's, was seated the Pope surrounded by his cardinals. After Henry and Constance and their suite had kissed the Pope's feet, the queen withdrew a little while the king took an oath of loyalty to the Pope and his canonical successors, promising to defend the Roman Church and the person of the Pope, and to be a help to them as far as he could.[2]

Then, giving the orb into the hands of the papal chamberlain, the emperor-elect thrice replied in the affirmative to the Pope's queries as to whether he wished to have peace with the Church. "I therefore give you peace," said Celestine, "as the Lord gave it to His disciples"; and he thereupon kissed the imperial candidate on his forehead, chin,[3] both cheeks, and mouth. Next, rising from his throne, the Pope three times asked Henry if he wished to be a son of the Church, and, when he had thrice replied that such was his wish, Celestine

[1] Hence Peter of Ebulo, Henry's panegyrist (*Partic. X.*, p. 24, ed. Siragusa):—

"Balsama, thus, alve, miristica, cinnama, nardus,
Regibus assuetus, ambra modestus odor,
Per vicos, per tecta fragrant redolentque per urbem;
Thuris aromatici spirat ubique rogus;
Vestit odora viam mirtus sociata dianthis;
Luxuriant croceis lilia juncta rosis."

[2] "Juro . . . tibi (Celestino) b. Petri ap. vicario fidelitatem," etc. *Ordo*, p. 1*. This *promissio imperatoris* is given at the beginning of the abridged coronation form given ap. *Liber Cens.*, i. p. 420.

[3] The rubric notes that the elect ought consequently to be shaved.

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added: "And I accept you as the son of the Church," and covered him with his mantle. Kissing the Pope's breast, Henry took hold of his right hand, and his chancellor of the left.

After this the archdeacon took the elect by the right hand and led him across the atrium to the Porta Argentea of the basilica itself, whilst the papal choir sang the *Benedictus*. There for a moment the Pope left him kneeling in prayer, whilst he entered the basilica, and the king was joined by his consort. When he had finished praying, he arose, and the bishop of Albano said the first prayer over him, calling upon God to make the elect a wise ruler who might please Him, and excel all others.

Meanwhile the Pope had entered the basilica whilst the choir sang the antiphon: "Peter, lovest thou me"; had blessed the singers; and had taken his seat to the right of the great porphyry disc.[1] When the bishop of Albano had finished his prayer, the archpriest and the archdeacon led Henry to a seat on the disc, and took their places near him to suggest to him the proper answers to make to the questions which the Pope was about to put to him.

During the *scrutinium* there sat on the right hand of Celestine the seven bishops "of the Latern palace," *i.e.*, the seven suburbicarian bishops, and on the right of Henry the German bishops. At some length the Pope then questioned the emperor-elect as to whether it was his intention to serve God, to restrain his passions, and to protect the poor. Having received suitable replies to these queries, Celestine next inquired into Henry's orthodoxy. After Henry had professed his belief in the different articles of the Creed, and had anathematised "all heresies that raised themselves up against the Holy Catholic Church," the Pope retired to

[1] *Supra*, v. 166, viii. 51.

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the sacristy to put on his ecclesiastical vestments, whilst the bishop of Porto, taking his stand in the middle of the centre disc, pronounced the second prayer over the imperial candidate.

When this prayer was finished, the elect went to the chapel of St. Gregory at the end of the left aisle near the sacristy, escorted by the cardinal, archpriest, and archdeacon. They first robed him with amice, alb, and girdle, and then led him to the Pope in the sacristy. There he was made a cleric (by receiving the tonsure), and then clothed with tunic, dalmatic, cope (*pluvialis*), mitre, buskins (*caligæ*), and sandals.

Meanwhile, the bishop of Ostia returned to the Porta Argentea, where the queen was waiting with her attendants, and prayed God, who chooses the weak things of the world to confound the strong, to strengthen, after the manner of Judith, the queen whom they had elected, and to make her the happy mother of children for the glory of the realm.

Constance was in her turn then escorted to the altar of St. Gregory, and thence walked behind her husband as he followed the Pope, wearing chasuble, pallium, and mitre, to the Confession of St. Peter,[1] where the king and queen prostrated themselves in prayer. Whilst the *schola cantorum* sang the Introit and the Kyrie eleison, the Pope went to the altar, and, after saying the Confiteor, gave the kiss of peace to the deacons, and incensed the altar.

When the archdeacon had recited the Litany, the bishop of Ostia, laying aside his cope, anointed Henry on the right arm[2] and between the shoulders, calling upon God to

[1] *Supra*, ii. 35 f.

[2] The Pope was anointed on the head, princes on the arms, because, in the symbolism of the Middle Ages, the Church was the head of the Christian body, the State the arms.

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pour forth His grace upon the emperor-elect that he might prove a worthy ruler.

After the queen had also been anointed, she and the king followed the pontiff to the altar of St. Maurice at the top of the left inner aisle. Henry took up his position on a marble disc immediately in front of the Pope, whilst his wife stood on his right hand, and six of the suburbicarian bishops grouped themselves round them. The seventh assisted the Pope. When the first and second *oblationarius* had brought the imperial crowns from the altar of St. Peter, and had placed them on the altar of St. Maurice, Celestine placed a ring on Henry's finger with the words: "Receive this ring as a sign of the holy faith and the solidity of your kingdom, by which you may learn to be ever linked with the Catholic faith."[1] Then he girded on the sword, praying that he might have strength to overcome his enemies and those of the Church.

Then, taking the crown from the hands of the archdeacon, the Pope placed it on Henry's head, saying: "Receive this glorious symbol in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in order that, despising the assaults of the Evil One, you may so love justice and mercy as to receive from our Lord Jesus Christ the crown of the eternal kingdom in the company of the saints."[2] When Celestine next placed a crown on the

[1] We give these prayers in an abridged form.

[2] Roger of Hoveden, an. 1191, iii. 102, R. S., has preserved a stupid story of the Pope sitting "in the pontifical chair, and holding the imperial crown of gold between his feet; and the emperor, baring his head, received the crown, and in like manner the empress received her crown at the feet of our lord the Pope. Our lord the Pope also suddenly struck the crown of the emperor with his foot, and overturned it on the ground, signifying thereby that he possessed the power of casting him down from his throne if he should show himself unworthy; but the cardinals immediately picked up the crown, and placed it on the emperor's head." Whoever believes this silly story can have but

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head of the empress, the seven bishops imposed their hands over her, whilst the Pope bade her: "Receive the crown of royal excellence, which is imposed upon your head by unworthy but still by episcopal hands. It is decorated with gold and gems that you may learn so to adorn your soul that, with the wise virgins, you may enter the kingdom of heaven."

In giving Henry the sceptre, Celestine bade him receive the rod of power by which he might rule himself and all those committed to his care.[1]

Then the Pope with his attendants returned to the altar of St. Peter, while the emperor was escorted thither by the prefect and by the Primicerius of the judges, and the empress by the Admiral of the fleet and the Secundicerius of the judges. After the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" had been sung, and the Pope had intoned the Prayer, "Deus

a very inadequate idea of the sense of dignity which animated the Popes of this period, and of the spirit which inflamed the breast of Barbarossa and his son, which would not have permitted them to endure such indignities as Alexander and Celestine are *said* to have put upon them. There is no need to pause further to point out that a man of eighty-five would not be likely to perform such an acrobatic feat as Roger describes, and that it is wholly opposed to the authentic imposing ceremonial given in the text.

[1] Peter of Ebulo's poetical description of Henry's coronation is evidently not quite accurate:

"Primo papa manus sacrat ambas Crismate sacro,
Ut testamentum victor utrumque gerat.
Brachia sanctificans, scapulas et pectus inungens;
'In Christum domini te Deus unxit' ait.
Post hec imperii correptum tradidit ensem,
Quem Petrus abscissa jussus ab aure tulit.
Ensis utrimque potens, templi defensor et orbis,
Hinc regit Ecclesiam, corrigit inde solum.
Jura potestatis, pondus pietatis et equi,
Signat in augusta tradita virga manu.
Anulus ecclesie regnorum nobilis arra,
Offertur digitus, Octaviane tuis."

Partic. X., v. 276 ff.

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regnorum omnium," the archdeacon and the other palatine deacons, along with the Primicerius and the subdeacons, chanted the *laudes*.[1] Then followed the Epistle, gradual, and alleluia. Before the Gospel, the emperor and empress took off their crowns. When it had been sung, the emperor laid aside his sword and, along with the empress, went up to the Pope and offered him bread and wine for the sacrifice, and gold and wax candles. At the Preface, the emperor put off the cope (*pluviale*) and assumed a special mantle. Clad in this he went up with the empress at the "Pax Domini" to receive Holy Communion.

After Mass the count of the palace took off the emperor's sandals and buskins and put on him the imperial greaves (*ocreas*) and the spurs of St. Maurice, and then the emperor and the empress followed the Pope to the atrium of St. Peter's to ride through the city to the Lateran palace.[2] At the steps of the basilica, the emperor held the stirrup of the Pope's horse and assisted him to mount it. Both the emperor and empress, wearing their crowns, joined in the procession. The city was beautifully decorated, the bells rang forth, and at duly appointed places the clerics of the city and the Jews sang the *laudes*. Imperial chamberlains preceded and followed the procession scattering money among the people in order that the cavalcade might not be impeded by the crowd. Special *laudes* greeted the procession when it reached the Lateran. Laying aside his crown, Henry assisted the Pope to dismount, and with him went to the triclinium of Leo III., whilst the empress went to the great hall known as the

[1] *Supra*, ii. 36 n.; and iii. p. 19.

[2] It is to be supposed that this procession actually took place on this occasion, though Roger of Hoveden (*l.c.*, p. 101) says that the Romans in arms would not allow the emperor to enter Rome proper. Considering, however, the understanding existing between them and Henry at this time, this statement would seem to be incorrect.

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"camera Julie," there to dine with the bishops and with her own vassals. Whilst, sitting at his right hand, the emperor was dining with the Pope, his chamberlains along with those of the Pope were engaged in distributing largess to all the members of the Sacred Palace. At the close of the banquet, after the reading of a lesson, the singing of songs, and the giving of the blessing, Celestine retired to his apartments, and the emperor to the hall of Julia.

Destruction of Tusculum.

The price of this ceremony, at once so splendid and so peaceful, was paid almost immediately after by the unhappy people of Tusculum. No sooner was his coronation over, than the emperor ordered his garrison at Tusculum to hand over the unsuspecting city into the hands of the Romans. The order was at once obeyed, and the Romans, false to the engagements which they had made at least to Pope Clement, not merely completely destroyed the walls of Tusculum, but killed or horribly mutilated most of its wretched inhabitants. "For this," concludes the historian Burchard, "the emperor was severely blamed by many."[1]

[1] "Romanis rebellantibus non potuit adipisci coronam, quin prius traderet eis Tusculanum. . . . Hi (the garrison which, at the request of the people of Tusculum, Henry had placed in Tusculum), accepta legatione imperatoris, incautam civitatem Romanis tradiderunt," etc. Burcardi et Cuonradi, *Ursperg. Chron.*, an. 1192, p. 67. *Cf.* Otto of St. Blaise, c. 33: "Hic (Henry) Tusculanense castellum . . . ipsis (the Romans) tradens, imperium in hoc non mediocriter dehonestavit." *Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1191: "Romanis vero munitionem Tusculanam tradens, quam pater ejus pape abstulerat." Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. 4: "Castrum vel civitatem (Tusculum) . . . dirui precepit (Henry)." Richard of S. Germ., an. 1191: "Dato ab ipso imperatore Tusculano Romanis, quam funditus destruxerunt." *Cf. Ann. Aquenses*, 1191, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 687. The chief German and Italian contemporary historians are, it will be seen, agreed in attributing the destruction of Tusculum to the emperor alone. The *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1191, and a few other secondary German or Italian anonymous chroniclers would make out that the emperor handed the city to the Pope, and the Pope to the Romans.

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Such is the account regarding the destruction of Tusculum which is given to us by the best-informed contemporary German and Italian historians. Certain English authors,[1] however, equally coeval, say that the emperor first handed over the unfortunate town to the Pope, who was himself anxious to pacify the Romans, and that he then surrendered it to the people of Rome. Their authority, however, writing as they did at such a distance from the scene of action, cannot compare with that of the Germans and Italians whose works are cited in the note.

Whether the Pope or the emperor or both were responsible for the surrender of Tusculum to the Romans, it would appear that, if they broke the treaty they had made with Pope Clement by treating its inhabitants so barbarously, they stood so far by it at least that they handed over its property (*tenimenta Tusculani*) to Pope Celestine.[2] This cruel destruction of their hated rival would seem for the time to have sated the Romans; for an historian records that Celestine ruled "Rome in peace."[3]

Disastrous expedition of Henry against the kingdom of Sicily, 1191.

Scarcely was his coronation over than, despite the opposition of the Pope, the suzerain of the country,[4] Henry marched south to establish his claim through his wife to the kingdom of the two Sicilies. At first all went well with him. One fortified place after another fell into his

[1] *Gesta Ric.* (Bened.), ii. 147. The authority of Roger of H. adds nothing to that of the author of the *Gesta*, as both writers draw from the same source. The language of Ralph Niger (*Chron. I.*, p. 97, ed. Anstruther) is ambiguous, and does not fix responsibility on Pope or emperor.

[2] See the decree of the Senate of April 19, 1191, ap. Watterich, ii. p. 720 n.

[3] *Chron. Laud.*, an. 1188, p. 49.

[4] Rich. of S. Germ., *l.c.*: "Papa prohibente et contradicente." Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. 5: "De qua profectione animum d. Papæ non parum offenderat, quia alius rex, Tancradus nomine, a sede Apostolica jam ibi ordinatus fuerat." *Anon. Chron. Cas.*, 1191, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 143: "Papa contra dicente."

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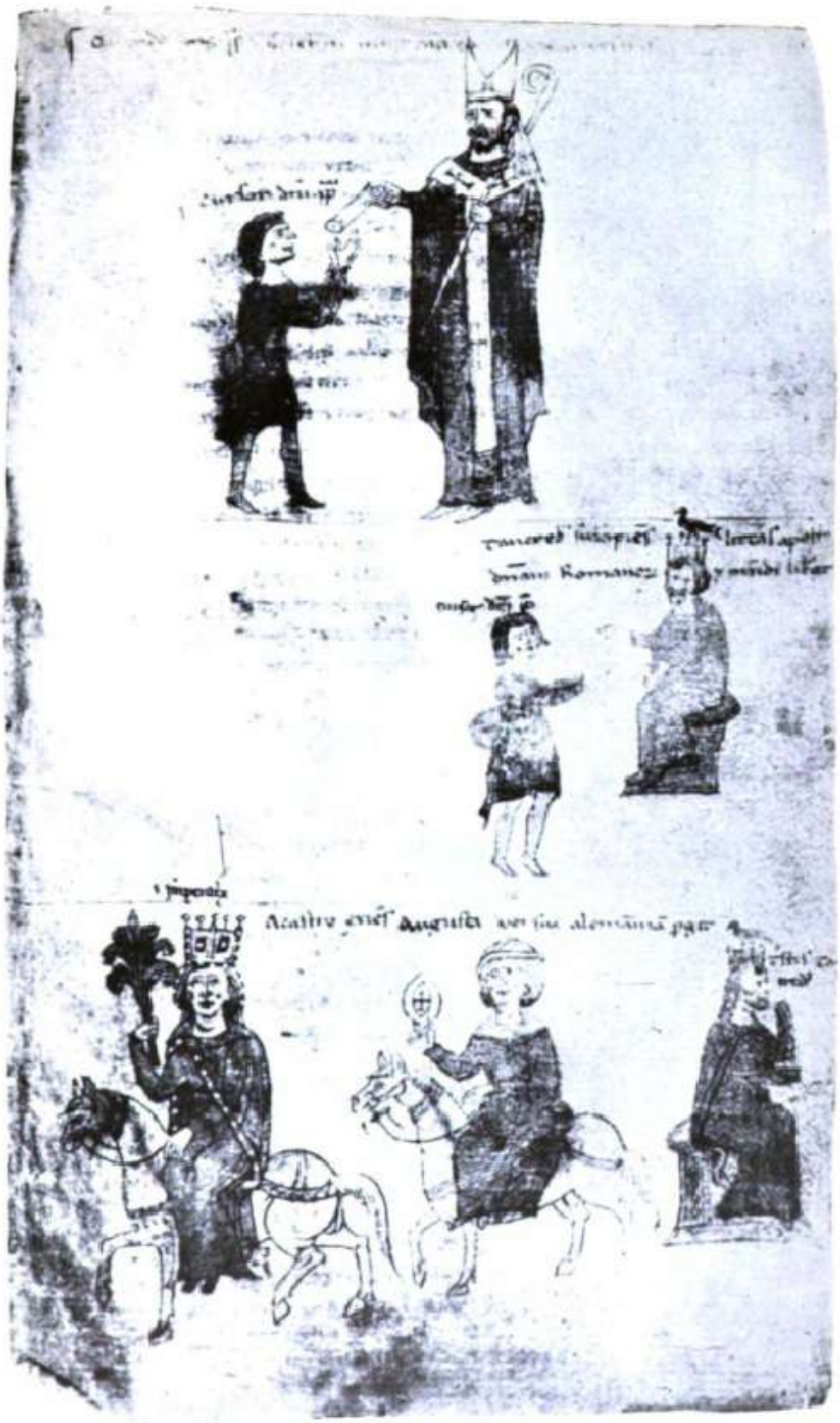

(From a Miniature in Pietro da Eboli.)

At the top of the picture Pope Celestine III. is seen giving to his messenger (cursor d. Papae) a letter to Tancred asking him to free the Empress Constance. In the middle of the page the messenger gives Tancred the letter. In the left-hand corner at the bottom the Empress is seen departing, while Tancred is left sad in the other corner.

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hands. Becoming master of Salerno, he left his wife there and laid siege to Naples. But his good fortune now deserted him. Plague seized upon his army. Most of the princes fell victims to it, and when, at death's door himself, he had to hurry north (September), the people of Salerno, emboldened by his misfortunes, seized his wife and sent her over to Tancred in Sicily.[1]

Henry begs the good offices of the Pope, who procures the release of Constance, 1192.

Deeply humiliated by the loss of his wife, Henry turned to the Pope and urged him to use his influence with Tancred in order that she might be restored to him.[2] Influenced possibly by the more or less treacherous manner in which she had been seized, Celestine, in this particular, magnanimously took up the emperor's cause. But it was not till he had had recourse to interdict and excommunication, or to threats of them, that he obtained her release.[3] Two cardinals were sent to bring her from

[1] See the authorities cited by Watterich, ii. 721 f. In addition see also the *Annales Stederbergenses*, an. 1191 (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 224), by Provost Gerard (†1209). These annals are one of the important sources for the career of Henry the Lion. Among those who accompanied Henry VI. on this his first Sicilian expedition was the young Henry, son of Henry the Lion of Saxony, whom the said annals call: "adolescens de Brunswich . . . consanguineus *d. Papæ*." It has been supposed that we ought to read "a relation of the emperor," but the editor points out that the vernacular *Chron. rythmicum* confirms the reading that the young Henry was a blood relation (*consanguineus*) of the Pope. Chalandon, *Hist. de la dominat. Normande*, vol. ii. c. 15, gives the details of the campaign.

[2] Roger of H., 1191, iii. 164; *Contin. Sanblas.*, c. 37.

[3] *Contin. Sanblas.*, c. 37, "Apostolicus commotus presumptores hujus rei . . . anathema constrinxit, imperatricemque captivitate relaxari cœgit." *Cf.* Peter of Ebulo's version of the Pope's letter (*Partic.* 33):

"Hec, Tancrede, tibi mando per numina celi,
Et nisi, quod jubeo, feceris, hostis ero.
. . . . . .
Quis tibi jura dedit? tribuit quis vincula Petri?
Jus sine jure tenes connubiale viro.

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captivity, and they were instructed to conduct her to Rome; for Celestine hoped through her to effect an advantageous peace (*c.* May, 1192).[1] But whilst on the way to Rome, the queen fell in with a body of troops whom the emperor had sent into Italy, and to the Pope's chagrin refused to enter Rome, and went north with them.[2]

Celestine fails to induce the emperor to accept the *status quo*, 1192.

This unexpected denouement was a bitter disappointment both to Tancred and the Pope. The former had lost an invaluable hostage, and the second what he had hoped would prove a sufficiently powerful lever to move the emperor to acquiesce in the loss of the kingdom of Sicily. Celestine's policy had been to support Tancred, and as the price of that support to obtain from him the surrender of the excessive ecclesiastical privileges claimed by the kings of Sicily. At the same time, to make his support as valuable as possible to Tancred, he had striven to induce the emperor to make peace.

Accordingly, in the interests of the Sicilian king, he had excommunicated the monks of Monte Cassino for their

An tibi sceptra parum regni sumsisse videtur
Infelix, honeri cur superaddis honus?
. . . . .
Hiis igitur lectis, tibi mitto, remitte maritam,
Ipsa suum poterit pacificare virum?
. . . . .
Tandem consilium deliberat anxius in se.
Quam tenet inclusam, tristis abire jubet"

v. 1011–1046.

Cf. some verses ap. *Ann. Ceccan.* (Fossæ N.) in *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 878; and Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Hen.*, p. 336, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii.

[1] *Anon. Cas. Chron.*, 1192, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 72: "Qui (Celestine) putabat Romæ cum ea de concordia tractare." *Cf. Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, 1192, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160, p. 333.

[2] *Anon. Cas.*, *l.c.* The *Annales Ceccan.*, *l.c.*, p. 880, pretend that Constance was escorted to Rome.

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vigorous defence of the imperial cause;[1] he had shown favour to Henry the Lion and his sons, opponents of the emperor, by granting them the privilege of being free from liability to excommunication except by the special action of the Holy See;[2] and he had made a strong, if futile, attempt to persuade Henry to come to terms with Tancred.[3]

The Concordat of Gravina, June 1192.

It was evident to the Sicilian king that he could not dispense with such an ally as Celestine. Hence his surrender, however reluctant, of Constance (*c.* May 1192), and his readiness at Gravina in Apulia to yield many of the privileges conceded by Hadrian IV. to William I. By the concordat of Gravina there was to be freedom of appeal to Rome; the Pope was to have the right, if he wished to use it, of sending a legate into Sicily every five years or oftener if need be; councils might be held in any city of the kingdom; and episcopal elections were to be free. The thousand *schifati*, as already agreed upon in the time of Hadrian IV., were to be paid annually by the king and his heirs for Apulia, Capua, and Marsia, and the usual oath of fidelity was to be taken by him to Celestine. On these conditions Tancred was duly invested with the kingdom of Sicily, and was promised the assistance of the Pope.[4]

Internal condition of Rome, 1191–97.

Whilst these events were in progress, and whilst Henry VI. was striving to break the power of the Guelphs (of Henry the Lion and his son Henry of Brunswick), to which his failure in south Italy had given a fresh impetus,

[1] *Anon. Chron. Cas.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 143. They were at length absolved through the intercession of Cardinal John of Salerno. *Cf.* Ric. of S. Germ., an. 1191, and *Excerpta Ottob.*, n. 7.

[2] Jaffé, 16,736, August 5, 1191.

[3] *Ib.*, 16,795. This attempt on the part of the Pope was made in the early months of the year 1192. *Cf.* Chalandon, *l.c.*, pp. 462-3, quoting Huillard-Bréholles, *Rouleaux de Cluny*, Nos. viii. and ix.

[4] *Cf. Excerpta Ottobon.*, nn. 12–14, ap. Watterich, ii. 722; *Liber Cens.*, i. 15, and the notes thereto, and Chalandon, *l.c.*, p. 465 ff.

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Rome was a prey to internal disorders. Its citizens could not agree among themselves as to the constitution of their commune.

According to Robert of Auxerre, who alone gives us any details of the incident, a certain Benedict Carushomo, a man of great experience in public affairs and born to rule, distressed at the bad government of the fifty-six senators, gradually formed a faction by means of which he was able to seize the supreme power (1191).[1] Acting with dictatorial power, he put down with equal impartiality both malefactors and those who were opposed to his way of thinking, with the result that the law was respected both within and without the city. During the early days of his power, he acted quite independently of the Pope; deprived him of all authority in the Maritima and the Sabina;[2] and on his

[1] "Benedictus, . . . cum videret urbem rapinis et furtis et cedibus diversisque injuriis expositam . . . eligitur ut totius urbis obtineat potentatum." He soon introduced a reign of law and order both within and without the city. *Chron.*, an. 1191, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. pp. 255–6. It is interesting to compare this account of the rise of B. Carushomo by a well-informed contemporary, with that imagined by Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 630 ff. *Cf.* Roger of H., an 1194. He tells of the re-election in that year of the fifty-six senators: "prius enim habebant unum solum senatorem, qui cognominatus erat Benedictus carus homo, qui regnavit super eos duobus annis, et deinde habuerunt alium senatorem, qui vocatus est Johannes Capuche (Capocci), qui similiter regnavit super eos aliis duobus annis: in quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma, quam nunc temporibus lvi senatorum," iii. p. 270, R. S. The following list, taken from Halphen, *L'administration de Rome*, p. 161 f., shows the unsettled condition of the municipal administration of Rome at this period. Benedict Carushomo, 1191–3; Johannes Capuche, 1193–4; fifty-six senators, 1194–5 or 6; John Pierleone, 1195 or 6–7; then follow four single senators to 1203; then alternately the fifty-six senators and a single senator from 1203 to 1205, and then single senators.

[2] "Benedictus, seipsum faciens senatorem, subtraxerat illi (the Roman Church) Maritimam et Sabiniam, suos justitiarios illi constituens." *Gesta Inn. III*, c. 8; *cf. Reg. Inn. III.*, ii. 239, "Benedictus, cum seipsum intruserit in senatoriam dignitatem, nec sedis apostolicæ favorem habuerit, ad quam institutio pertinet senatorum," etc.

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own authority created the various officials. However, as time went on, his position was recognised by the Pope, and Innocent III. upheld the legitimacy of his acts.[1]

Those, however, whom he had dispossessed of authority, and whom he would appear to have irritated by an unnecessary display of pomp, rose up against him, besieged him in the Capitol, took him prisoner, and kept him in confinement for a long time.[2] Benedict was followed by another single senator, who was in turn replaced by the fifty-six senators (1194); and when Celestine died, one of the Paparoni (Scottus Paparone) was the sole senator (1197 to January 27, 1198).[3] After this all municipal authority rapidly fell into the hands of one or two of the aristocracy, into the hands, *i.e.*, of the Pierleoni, Paparoni, Anibaldi, Frangipani, Colonna, etc., who were as a rule under the influence of the Popes, who thus again resumed control of the city.

Henry's difficulties in Germany, 1191–94.

Meanwhile, in Germany the emperor was so encompassed with difficulties that he could not prosecute his claims on the kingdom of Sicily with any vigour. Some of these troubles were made for him by others, and some of them by himself. The enmity of Henry the Lion of Saxony and of his son Henry of Brunswick was simply the enmity of the Guelph for the Hohenstaufen.

The bishopric of Liège.

Other difficulties, however, against which he had to contend were the result of his own despotic and cruel character. Among these latter was the affair of the bishopric of Liège. Henry had been successful in filling, without serious opposition, a number of bishoprics which fell vacant about this time; but he was not so fortunate

[1] Ep., *l.c.* "Quamvis . . . dictus B. circa prælationis primordia gratiam sedis apostolicæ non habuerit, quia tamen ab ea fuit tempore procedente receptus," etc.

[2] "Benedictus Rome, dum se magnificentius ageret," etc. Robert, *l.c.*, an. 1192.

[3] Halphen, *l.c.*

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with regard to the bishopric of Liège. Its incumbent, like the occupiers of many other sees, had died in the Holy Land (1191), and the majority of the chapter of Liège, influenced, it is said, by the duke of Brabant, chose his brother Albert, whilst the minority, thinking to please the emperor, elected another Albert, Albert of Retest (Réthel).[1] Henry, however, bribed by three thousand marks,[2] set aside, in open violation of the Concordat of Worms, both the candidates chosen by the chapter, and gave the see to Lothaire of Hochstaden. Albert of Brabant at once appealed to the Apostolic See, and, although the emperor caused all the ordinary routes to be watched, he succeeded in reaching Rome by travelling through Provence to Montpellier, and then, after crossing the Maritime Alps, by making his way disguised as a servant through Genoa and Pisa.[4] Arrived in Rome, he presented himself to the Pope just as he was, "all bronzed by the sun, with his face covered with dust and sweat, wearing a large black linen hat, big coarse boots half worn out, a mean and wretched tunic, and a poor and clumsy belt from which hung a big knife in a dirty, greasy sheath, so that one would take him not for a nobleman, and a bishop-elect, but for a hired servant straight from the kitchen."[5]

As soon as Celestine learnt who the extraordinary apparition was, he embraced him and promised to confirm his election if it should prove to be just. The justice of his cause was soon apparent, and, though some cardinals were afraid to pronounce in his favour through fear of the emperor's anger, the majority declared for him, as did also

[1] *Vita Alberti*, c. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. The *Life*, written soon after Albert's murder, seemingly by one of his friends, may be read ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 135 ff. *Cf.* Lamberti Parvi *Annales*, an. 1191, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 650.

[2] *Ib.*, cc. 4 and 5.

[3] C. 5.

[4] Cc. 6–8.

[5] C. 9.

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"the Roman princes and senators."[1] His election was accordingly formally approved by the Pope (May 1192),[2] who despatched letters to the archbishops of Cologne and of Rheims, and to the people of Liège and others. The archbishop of Cologne was ordered to consecrate Albert, and, if fear of the emperor should prevent him from obeying the Pope's orders, the archbishop of Rheims was commissioned to perform the function. The people of Liège were commanded to acknowledge Albert of Brabant as their bishop. To ensure these documents reaching their destination, Celestine issued them in duplicate, and sternly forbade any member of the curia to take any money for any service rendered to one who had had to suffer so much for the sake of the liberty of the Church.[3]

After many adventures, crossing "Hannibal's Alps" (Mont Cenis), he at length reached Germany. Afraid of the emperor, the archbishop of Cologne feigned sickness, and begged the archbishop of Rheims to fulfil the papal mandate, and to consecrate Albert. This he did on September 20, 1192.[4]

The murder of Albert of Brabant, bishop of Liège, 1192, Nov. 24

Henry in a fury at once made his way to Liège, cruelly persecuted Albert's adherents, and forbade him to enter his kingdom.[5] Before the close of the year, the newly con-

[1] C. 10.

[2] "Papa potestati et dignitati quam d. imperator in ecclesiis episcopalibus et abbatiis majoribus habebat, valde erat contrarius." Giselbert, *Chron. Hanoniense*, an. 1192.

[3] "Interminatione autem multa dederat preceptum validum pius et justus ei summus pontifex, ut omnino nullus esset in curia Romana, non hostiarius, non scriptor, non notarius, non ipsi cardinales, non alicujus officii curam gerens aut dignitatis, qui præsumeret aspirare ad aliquod munus ab eo percipiendum, sed omnia gratis fierent ei, qui pro ecclesie libertate tuenda tantis laboribus et periculis exposuisset semetipsum." *Vita*, c. 11.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 15. *Cf. Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1192, p. 155, ed. Waitz; *Sigebert. Contin. Acquicinct.*, an. 1192.

[5] *Contin. Ac.*, *l.c.*, and *Vita*, cc. 16–18.

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secrated archbishop was treacherously and barbarously murdered by three German knights with the connivance of the same Henry.[1]

The news of the murder of the bishop roused the greatest indignation all over Europe; and, when it was found that the emperor accorded his patronage to the murderers, he was execrated by every right-minded man.[2]

Excommunication of Lothaire, the imperial candidate, 1193.

As soon as Pope Celestine heard of the tragedy, he immediately excommunicated all the assassins, and in particular excommunicated by name Lothaire, the emperor's candidate, and assigned to others his various benefices.[3] Unable to endure the excommunication, Lothaire made haste to Rome, and endeavoured to procure a mitigation of the papal sentence. The Pope, however, was inexorable, and only consented to remove the excommunication on condition that he resigned all his benefices, save the provostship of Coblentz, and gave up all thought of any further promotion.[4]

Coalition against Henry, 1192-3.

The murder of Albert was just what was needed to put fresh vigour into the opposition against Henry. The

[1] *Vita*, cc. 39-40. After the deed, the murderers "ab imperatore magno favore sunt excepti." *Cf.* Balduini Ninovensis, *Chron.*, an. 1192, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 337; Giselbert, *Chron. Hanoniense*, ann. 1191-2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. p. 573 ff. The *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1192, says: "Albertus . . . obtruncatur, quod voluntate imperatoris actum esse ferebatur." *Cf.* Rigord, *Philip. Aug. Gesta*, c. 78; Will. of New., iv. 37.

[2] "De dolenda morte Alberti . . . dolet omnis terra, studet orbis christianus et tantum scelus execratur. Omnes aulam Cesaris execrantur, in qua sibi asilum optinere gloriantur homicide scelerati." *Vita*, c. 46.

[3] "Papa Lotharium . . . omnibus suis tam in spiritualibus quam in carnalibus privari jubet pro objectu mortis d. Alberti." *Chron. reg. Colon.*, an. 1193. *Cf. Sigebert. Cont. Ac.*, an. 1193.

[4] Giselbert, *Chron. Hanon.*, 1192. This decision, for reasons best known to himself, the chancellor considers "crudelissimum."

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relations of Albert joined with Henry, duke of Saxony, and in a brief space half the princes of the Empire, along with the duke of Bohemia, were in league against him.[1] It is, moreover, said that they secured the approval of the Pope.[2] This formidable confederation might have crushed the emperor had not blind fortune thrown as a hostage into his hands none other than Richard the Lion-hearted, the friend of the house of Guelph, and the ally of Tancred of Sicily (March 1193).

Richard of England becomes the emperor's prisoner.

The selfish departure of Philip Augustus from the Holy Land had seriously crippled the numerical resources of the Crusaders, and so Richard, seeing that in addition both money and health were failing him, and alarmed at the rumours he had heard of the expulsion of his chancellor from England and of the designs of his brother John and the French king on his throne and kingdom, made a truce with Saladin, and left Palestine for England.[3] As is so well known, shipwreck and mischance caused him to fall into the hands of Leopold, duke of Austria, whom his pride had outraged in Palestine (December 1192). Realising how useful such a prisoner would be to him,[4] Henry bought him from his partisan (March 1193),[5] and, in contempt of the papal decrees which declared the persons

[1] *Vita Alberti*, c. 47 ; and Giselbert, *l.c.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. p. 582 ; *Ann. Marbacenses*, an. 1193 ; Vincent of Prague, *Contin.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 707.

[2] Giselbert, *l.c.* "Quod (the design of Henry of Brabant to replace Henry as emperor), quidem ipsi duces d. P. Celestino insinuaverunt, et per nuncios ei confœderati sunt."

[3] Roger of H., 1192, iii. 184.

[4] He had a personal grudge against him on account of his recognition of Tancred as king of Sicily. *Ib.*, p. 186. Hence in informing Philip of Richard's capture, Henry calls him "inimicus imperii nostri." Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 195.

[5] Ralph de D. "Dux Austriæ regem Angliæ tradidit imperatori Romano sub *pactione pecuniæ persolvendæ*." An. 1193, ii. 106.

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of Crusaders inviolate, *i.e.*, in contempt of the international law of the period,[1] he kept him in captivity.

The Pope is appealed to regarding Richard's captivity.

Knowing that the news of Richard's seizure would give the greatest pleasure to Philip of France, the emperor sent an account of it to that subtle monarch.[2] It was through this letter that the English heard of the captivity of their king, whose warlike exploits had endeared him to their hearts. The Pope was at once urged to vindicate the rights of a Crusader. Foremost in this work was Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, who had himself fought side by side with Richard in the Holy Land.[3] The bishops of Normandy are also credited with begging

[1] That to take advantage of a Crusader was regarded in the light of what we should consider as a breach of the law of nations, may be gathered from the declarations of the French and German nobility. The former in 1192 refused to follow their king Philip in an invasion of Normandy, as long as Richard was "on God's service." "Dicentes quod ipsi perjuri si ipsi guerram fecissent in terram regis Angliæ, quamdiu esset in servitio Dei." *Gesta Ric.* (Benedict), an. 1192, ii. 237. And when Henry showed signs of wishing to break the engagement he had entered into with Richard for his release (1193), the German nobles declared that "the Empire had already been sufficiently defiled by the unworthy imprisonment of a most noble king." Will. of N., iv. 40. *Cf.* Ralph Niger, *Chron. I.*, p. 102, who upbraids Philip for his doings against Richard: "nulla crucis aut fidei religione detentus"; and the anonymous chronicler of Laon (an. 1197) says: "Celestinus P. et multi principes Germanie atque Italie graviter tulerunt regem Anglie ab imperatore detineri, quia peregrinabatur, quando captus fuit." But when we find a modern author pointing out "how wise, from a political point of view, the emperor had been to take him captive," we are listening to an echo of the political morality of the day which measures the right by the expedient.

[2] Roger of H., 1192 (December 28), iii. 195.

[3] For which and for his exertions at Rome for his release, Richard praises him warmly in a letter to his mother, Queen Eleanor. "Qui (Hubert), sicut mundus novit universus, in ultramarinis partibus toti Christianitati et nobis tam grata impendit obsequia, quod nullatenus possunt enarrari. Qui etiam in curia Romana pro nostra liberatione tot labores sustinuit et expensas, et tam laboriosum iter . . . ad nos usque in Alimanniam arripuit." Ep. ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, pp. 362–3, R. S., March 30, 1193.

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Celestine to draw the sword of Blessed Peter to avenge a deed "which all laws, both new and old, execrate."[1] There are, moreover, extant three passionate letters which Queen Eleanor is generally supposed to have addressed to the Pope with the same object.[2] They show her as the woman in the Gospel who by her importunity forced the unjust judge to do her justice. "In all the letters the theme is the same—an appeal to the Pope's pity, his pride, his interest, and his gratitude, to induce him to intervene on behalf of the captive Crusader king. In all the queen takes a tone of mingled pathos and menace."[3] The first of the three letters is addressed: "To the revered Father, the lord Celestine, by the grace of God supreme Pontiff, Eleanor, by the grace of God[4] queen of the English, duchess of Normandy, and countess of Anjou, in the hope that he may show himself a father to a wretched mother."

She is afraid to speak, she begins, lest in her grief she should say what she ought not to say; for grief is but little different from madness, which knows no masters. But a suffering people, desolate provinces, nay, the whole Church of the West, sorrowfully turn to the Pope whom God has set in power above nations and kingdoms. And should he not hear their cry, "the whole tragedy of this fell deed will fall back upon him," as he is the sole comfort of the afflicted.[5] "For our king is in straits, beset on all sides. Behold the

[1] Ep. 64 among the letters of Peter of Blois, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207.

[2] Epp. 2, 3, 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 206, p. 1262 ff.

[3] Beatrice A. Lees, *The Letters of Q. Eleanor to P. Celestine III.*, p. 84, ap. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxi. (1906).

[4] The printed edition reads: "A. in ira Dei," "Eleanor in the anger of God"; but surely "in ira" should be "gratia," or is a contraction for "eadem gratia," as the salutation reads in the second letter: "A. eadem gratia regina," etc.

[5] "In tanto cumulo miseriarum unicum et commune omnibus exspectatur de vestræ potestatis auctoritate solatium." Ep. 2, "Silere decreveram."

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condition or rather the ruin of his kingdom, the malice of the times, the cruelty of the tyrant who out of the furnace of his avarice[1] is ever forging weapons against the king whom he seized when on Crusade (*in sancta peregrinatione*) under the protection of the God of Heaven and the tutelage of the Roman Church, and whom he now holds in chains."[2] Where is the zeal of Elias against Achab, "where the zeal of Alexander III., who, as we have heard and seen,[3] with dread solemnity cut off from the communion of the faithful, with the full authority of the Apostolic See, Frederick, the father of this emperor (*istius principis*). . . . If, then, you are not ready to avenge the injury done to you and to the Roman Church, you cannot be indifferent to the insult offered to Peter and to Christ."

The Pope must not fear man. If the enemies of the cross of Christ "trust in their own strength and

[1] This reference to the emperor's avarice may easily refer to his buying him from the duke of Austria in order to make profit out of the possession of his person. Hence this letter may well have been written within a few weeks of February 14, 1193, when Leopold agreed for money to surrender Richard to Henry VI.

[2] Even if it should be thought necessary to interpret these words strictly, they can be supported by a German contemporary authority which has escaped the research of the learned lady whom we have just cited, and who calls the authenticity of these letters in question. Otto of St. Blaise, c. 38, writes: "Imperator . . . Anglorum regem . . . Wormatiam asportari, vinctum ferroque honustum precepit." *Cf.* Ralph de D., ii. 106-7, regarding Richard's imprisonment in the castle of Trifels. Will. of New., iv. 37, also asserts that, after the treaty between Richard and Henry of June 1193, it was agreed that the former should be treated more honourably, *i.e.*, should not be fettered (*i.e.*, *sine cathena*). See also especially *ib.*, v. 31, where he quotes Richard himself, saying that at one time he was honourably treated by the emperor, and that afterwards he was loaded with so much iron "that a horse could scarcely have borne it."

[3] "Sicut audivimus et vidimus" assuredly need mean nothing more than that the event happened in Eleanor's time, and certainly does not necessarily imply that the writer of the letter was present when the excommunication was pronounced.

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glory in the multitude of their riches" (Psalm xlviii. 7), "the maw of insatiable avarice swallows up whatever is taken from the needs of the Church and of the poor."[1]

The queen goes on to complain that whereas important embassies are often sent from Rome for trifles, Celestine has on the important matter of Richard's captivity not despatched even a subdeacon. It would appear that even if gain regulated the sending of legates, the Pope should ask himself what gain could be comparable to the exaltation of the pontificate by his effecting the liberation of Richard. He should also be mindful of the good which Richard's father Henry did to the Roman Church by throwing his influence in the scale in favour of Alexander.[2] Celestine must, therefore, not be ungrateful, and not cause the Roman Church to blush for being so slow to help "so noble a son who is in such serious straits."[3]

This letter, which we suppose to have been sent off early

[1] Again, it does not appear that this passage must refer to the heavy taxing of England to pay Richard's ransom. Henry's personal avarice is well known, and the way in which by simony he strove to enrich himself at the expense of the Church.

[2] "Quare non appenditis . . . beneficia, quæ . . . Henricus . . . vobis, *sicut vidimus* (compare the "sicut audivimus et vidimus" above), in articulo summæ necessitatis exhibuit," etc.

[3] We have given a complete analysis of this letter to enable the reader to judge of it as a whole. There will be found in the preceding notes what we imagine to be satisfactory answers to the chief objections which have been urged against its authenticity. While not pretending to have replied to all the objections which the writer in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* has ably urged against the authenticity of these three letters, we believe that they can all be met on the lines above suggested. The reader must also be reminded that the rejection of the three letters of Eleanor involves the rejection not only of the letter of the Norman bishops quoted above, but also of one (ep. 148) by Peter of Blois to Conrad of Mainz. In any case, supposing all these letters were merely "models" written by Peter of Blois for instruction in epistolary correspondence, they show what one of her best-informed contemporaries supposed that Eleanor, etc., would have said to the Pope.

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in March, was quickly followed by two others to the same effect.

Celestine threatens Richard's enemies with excommunication and interdict, 1193.

Celestine, however, did not really require all the urging which Eleanor seems to have imagined necessary.[1] He had already shown himself true to Richard. When, after his base desertion of the sacred cause, Philip, king of France, had visited Rome on his way back to his country (October 1191), and had endeavoured to obtain permission from the Pope to invade Normandy in order to compensate himself for the wrongs which he alleged had been inflicted on him by Richard, Celestine had sternly forbidden him under pain of excommunication to lay a hand either on Richard or on his territory.[2]

Accordingly, whether moved by the representations from England or influenced by a desire to punish an outrage committed on a Crusader, Celestine threatened to excommunicate even the emperor himself if he did not quickly release the English king from captivity; and he also gave Philip of France to understand that a like penalty would be inflicted upon him if he persisted in harrying the territories of Richard whilst he was a prisoner (*c.* April, 1193).[3]

[1] Still, it must be confessed that there was a general feeling that both Pope and princes generally were slow in moving in Richard's behalf:

> "Ha! quid Roma, quid nobiles,
> Quid, ve! *celestis* gladius
> In ausus execrabiles
> Penam suspendunt longius?"

See Kingsford for the rest of this contemporary poem, ap. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, v. (1890), 320.

[2] "Summus pontifex sciens eum (Philip Augustus) hoc dixisse sola invidiæ causa, nullam ei licentiam ad malum faciendum in terra regis Angliæ dare voluit; sed prohibuit sub anathemate ne ipse in eum vel in terram suam manum extenderet." *Gesta Ric.* (Benedict), an. 1191. ii. 229.

[3] Rog. of H., an. 1193, iii. 208. *Cf.* Peter of Eboli, v. 1086, and *Chron. Laudun.*, sub an. 1197, p. 57, ed. Cartellieri: "Celestinus papa

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The emperor and Richard come to terms, March-April 1193.

This vigorous action was not without its effect. As early as March 1193 Richard had promised the emperor one hundred thousand marks for his freedom;[1] but it was not till after the threats of Celestine, and the indignant remonstrances of many leading men in Germany and Italy,[2] that the emperor came to an agreement with Richard. From a letter of Richard himself to his mother and the justiciaries of England (April 19, 1193), it appears that the two sovereigns agreed to aid one another against all men, and that Richard "had to prolong his stay with the emperor . . . till he had paid him seventy thousand marks of silver"—so euphemistically under the circumstances had he to express himself. Richard had also to agree to give hostages to the emperor till the rest of the ransom should have been paid.[3]

Richard is released, 1194.

But, in order to wring more and more concessions from his prisoner, the avaricious and faithless emperor kept putting off the hour of his liberation, even after a large portion of the king's ransom had been paid over to him. At length, however, the indignation of his nobles compelled him to fulfil his promises, and Richard was at last released (February 4, 1194).[4]

Excommunication of the duke of Austria, 1194.

No sooner was Richard at liberty than he turned his attention to punishing his enemies. Though the nobles of France would not act with Philip against the English king's domains whilst he was "on God's service," their crafty ruler had no difficulty in persuading them to assist

et multi principes Germaniæ et Italiæ graviter tulerunt regem Angliæ ab imperatore detineri, quia peregrinabatur, quando captus fuit," etc, Unfortunately these letters of Celestine are lost. Owing to this and to the unsatisfactory nature of the authorities of this period, many details of these events are anything but clearly ascertained.

[1] *Ib.*, iii. p. 199.
[2] Roger, iii. 208.
[3] Roger, iii. 208–9.
[4] Roger, pp. 229–253. *Cf. supra*, p. 410, n. 1.

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him in the invasion of Normandy when Richard was a captive in Germany. Accordingly, the English sovereign lost no time in showing Philip that sometimes at least the sword was mightier than craft, and that the strength and courage of the soldier was more effective than the subtle art of the politician.

Inasmuch as, by the diplomatic grant to Richard of the kingdom of Arles or Provence, over which he had no effective control, Henry had made our king his liegeman,[1] Richard could not well turn on him, but against his first captor, the duke of Austria, he promptly took steps with the aid of the Pope. His envoys put strongly before Celestine how their master had been seized by the duke, though as a Crusader he was under papal protection; how he had afterwards been sold to the emperor by Leopold "as though he were a bull or an ass"; and how "the two of them consumed the substance of his kingdom by demanding an intolerable sum for his ransom." The envoys, therefore, begged the Pope to compel the duke to liberate the English hostages he was holding as security for the payment of the rest of Richard's ransom; to restore the money which the English monarch had already been forced to pay to him; and to make fitting atonement for the injury inflicted on their master.[2]

Celestine, who had in Rome for half a year been protecting Richard's wife Berengaria,[3] and who had then sent her under the escort of Cardinal Melior to Poitiers,[4] listened favourably to the complaints of the envoys.

[1] *Ib.*, pp. 225–7. Richard was crowned king of Arles, January 24, 1194.

[2] Roger of Wendover, sub an. 1195.

[3] She had left the Holy Land shortly before Richard, and, after being beaten about by storms for some time, had to land in Italy.

[4] Rog. of H., an. 1193, iii. 228. She had remained in Rome "propter metum imperatoris."

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When they had completed their charges against the duke, "our lord the Pope then rose with all his cardinals, and excommunicated the duke himself by name, . . . and laid the whole of his territory under an interdict" till he should comply with the demands of Richard, and undertake never to perpetrate such deeds again.[1] Adelard, cardinal-priest of the title of St. Marcellus, and bishop of Verona, was commissioned to publish the sentence of excommunication throughout the whole duchy of Austria on every Sunday and feast day.[2]

At first Leopold paid no heed to this sentence, and men attributed to his contumacy the floods, famine, and pestilence which then devastated his duchy. However, being soon after at the point of dying a painful death († December 31, 1194), he undertook to obey the Pope's orders; but it required the intervention with his son of many of his magnates, and even of Innocent III., before they were all fulfilled.[3]

How Richard's captivity helped the emperor against his foes.

We must now retrace our steps a little, and return to

[1] Roger of W., *l.c.* Otto of St. Blaise, c. 38. "Itaque pro captivatione peregrini regis Leopaldus dux a summo pontifice excommunicatur, *ne simili ausu peregrini* sancti sepulchri *a quoquam impetiti* a subventione transmarine ecclesie deterrerentur." *Cf.* various continuations of the Annals of Austria, *e.g.*, *Ann. S. Rudberti*, an. 1194, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 778; *Contin. Admuntensis*, ap. *ib.*; and Chounradi Schirensis *Ann.*, 1194, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 631. See also Magni *Contin. Chron.*, *ib.*, p. 523.

[2] Ralph de D., ii. 119, gives the Pope's letter to the bishop. It is dated June 6, 1194.

[3] Roger of W., *l.c.*; Magnus Reichersperg., *Chron.*, 1194, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. 522; and *Epp. Inn. III.*, i. 230, 242, of May 30, 31, 1198. The Emperor Henry VI. also on his death-bed released Richard from various engagements into which he had been compelled to enter; *e.g.* he had consented to hold England as a fief of the Empire. Roger of H., an. 1193, iii. 202–3. It is curious that neither Miss Kate Norgate in her *England under the Angevin Kings*, nor the authors of the new *Political Hist. of Eng.* (Longmans & Co.), make any mention of the strenuous exertions of Celestine in Richard's behalf.

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Henry VI., face to face with a formidable coalition,[1] from which it was said that the captivity of Richard saved him. The possession of the person of the king of England not only assured to the emperor the acquisition of a large sum of money, but put at his disposal both the money and the arms of Philip of France and of Prince John, Richard's contemptible brother. The conspirators now realised that they must come to terms with the emperor. Accordingly, after Henry had caused a number of bishops and barons "to swear on his own soul that he had neither ordered nor wished that the bishop of Liège should be put to death," and had restored to the conspirators the castles which he or his father had taken from them, they all submitted with the exception of the duke of Saxony.[2]

His second Sicilian expedition, 1194.

Henry was now in a good position to pursue his ideas of world-rule by proceeding against Tancred of Sicily. By making Richard king of Arles or Provence, he expected ultimately to obtain a more practical control over that kingdom, and he had succeeded in becoming suzerain of England.[3] More than all, Richard's ransom had supplied him with the sinews of war;[4] and, as if fortune were bent on granting him every favour, Tancred died († February 20, 1194) soon after his son Roger. He had now in Sicily only to face a woman and a child, Sibyl, Tancred's widow, and her son William III. Moreover, the treaty of

[1] See *supra*, p. 408.

[2] Roger of H., June 1193, iii. p. 214. *Cf.* Will. of New., iv. 37. The submission of the duke was brought about through the marriage of his son Henry of Brunswick with a niece of the emperor.

[3] Roger of H. is supported by German authorities when he states (iii. 202–3) that Richard made England tributary to the Empire. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, *Ann. Marbacenses*, sub an. 1191, p. 63, ed. *in usum schol.*

[4] Ralph Niger, *Chron. I.*, p. 103; Burchard, *Chron. Ursperg.*, an. 1193, etc.

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Vercelli which he brought about between the warring Lombard communes (January 1194) gave him every ground to hope that he would not be hindered, nor the Pope or Sibyl helped by the Lombard League. Accordingly, preceded by a fleet which by delusive promises he had obtained from Genoa and Pisa, he entered Campania in August.[1] All opposition to him collapsed at once. Taking a fearful vengeance on Salerno for its treatment of Constance,[2] he crossed over to Messina in October. In the following month he was master of the capital of Sicily (Palermo), and was there crowned king of the two Sicilies on December 25, 1194. Then, taking advantage of a real or pretended plot against him, he seized the royal family of Sicily, and their chief supporters, and sent them as prisoners into Germany.[3]

The end of the Norman dynasty of Sicily.

The Norman dynasty was at an end, and Henry was not only emperor, but king of the two Sicilies; and when, after keeping the Easter (April 2) of 1195 with his wife at Bari, he returned to Germany,[4] he could reflect with satisfaction that he had at length no little real hold of a very considerable portion of Italy. Large tracts of it were directly ruled by Germans. He had invested Conrad of Urslingen with Spoleto; his trusty general, the Marquis Markwald of Anweiler, with Romagna and the Marches;

[1] He had entered Lombardy in May. On the way in which he deceived Genoa and Pisa, see Balzani, *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*, p. 118.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 401. On the ravages of the Germans in this campaign, see Hugo Falcandus' preface to his *Historia*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii.

[3] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la dominat. Normande en Italie*, ii. p. 487 ff., who believes that there was a real plot against Henry.

[4] Constance went to Sicily (*cf.* Ignot. mon. Cister., *Chron.*, 1195, p. 32, ed. Gaudenzi). The babe who had been born to her on December 26, 1194, at Jesi in the March, and who was destined to be the renowned Emperor Frederick II., had been left at Foligno. She took up her residence in Palermo, and thence administered the kingdom.

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and his brother Philip with the duchy of Tuscany and the estates of Matilda.[1]

Henry's disregard of papal rights.

It will be seen that in making his dispositions for the ruling of Italy Henry paid no regard to the sovereign rights of the Papacy. Nor, in his subjugation of "Apulia," *i.e.*, of that portion of the kingdom of Sicily which was in Italy, did he respect its private ownership rights. He made no scruple of confiscating papal property in Apulia.[2]

Negotiations between Celestine and the emperor, 1194-5.

For some little time there had been no communication between Celestine and Henry. The Pope had made a vain effort to come to some agreement with the emperor, no doubt with the view of preventing him from prosecuting his claims on the kingdom of Sicily.[3] But when he saw the ruthless way in which Henry not only fought for his own rights in the kingdom of Sicily, but also seized therein the property of the Church,[4] he abruptly broke off all relations with him.[5]

Henry's efforts to get his infant son proclaimed emperor.

But it was now Henry's turn to wish to open friendly negotiations with the Pope. On December 26, 1194, his wife had given him a son and heir, and he at once took

[1] Henry "totam Tusciam et terram comitisse Mathildis Philippo fratri suo vexillari feodo concessit." *Ann. Aquenses*, an. 1193, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 687.

[2] See below for the note from the continuation of the Chronicle of the priest Magnus.

[3] *Excerpt. Ottobon.*, n. 57, ap. Watterich, ii. 739.

[4] "Offensus quippe sæpe fuerat d. Papa, in illo videlicet enormi facto *i.e.*, pro Leodiensi episcopo occiso et pro rege Angliæ in peregrinatione capto, necnon pro dote S. Petri in Apulia violenter ablata." *Contin. Chron. Magni*, an. 1195, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 523. The author of this *Continuation* had just said that Magnus, the venerable priest of Reichersberg, who had written the previous part of the Chronicle, had just died (April 1195).

[5] Ep. 207, April 1195, to Henry. "Verum quod aliquandiu stylum tibi scribendi suspendimus, tuorum hominum excessus causa fuerunt; quorum temeritati quia potentia tua non restitit, veriti fuimus ne malefactis eorum consensus imperialis favorabilis accessisset."

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up his father's ideas of making the imperial crown hereditary in his family. This he well understood could not be done without the co-operation of the Pope. Consecration "by the universal Pope" was the sheet-anchor of the claims of the Western Roman emperors to the imperial title as against those of the Eastern Roman emperors.[1]

Celestine must, therefore, be placated. Not only did he secretly take the cross himself, and openly encourage others to take it,[2] but he sent envoys to Rome with letters to the Pope pointing out that for the liberation of the Holy Land, for the uprooting of heresy, and for the good of Christendom generally, nothing was so important as peace between the Empire and the Church (*regnum et sacerdotium*). Hence, for his part, he was determined to work to bring about a peace which should not be broken by the trifles which had broken it in the past. In conclusion, he exhorted the Pope to draw the sword of Peter against the heretics.[3]

To these overtures the Pope replied that he had not written to the emperor for some time, "on account of the excesses of the emperor's agents," which seemed to have his sanction. However, he has now learnt that the emperor is anxious for the general good, and is ready to make satisfaction for the wrongs wrought by his followers. Urging him, therefore, to remember that it profiteth a man nothing to gain the whole world if he suffer the loss of his

[1] And so in 1189, when Isaac II., Angelus, told Barbarossa that the monarchy of the Roman world belonged to him and that "the advocate of the Roman city" (so he styled Frederick) must acknowledge him as his superior, Barbarossa retorted that with him was the "majesty of the Roman Empire"—"electione principum et consecratione universalis Papae urbis Romae." *Annal. Patherbrun.*, an. 1189, p. 180, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst.

[2] With *Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1194, p. 157, ed. Waitz, *cf.* the *Annales Marbacenses*, an. 1195, and Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, v. 25.

[3] *Excerpt. Ottobon.*, 9 and 10, ap. Watterich, ii. 740–1.

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own soul, he tells him that he is sending him two legates, both excellent men, who are ever striving for the good of the Church and of the Empire.[1]

While thus striving to win the good-will of the Pope, Henry had succeeded, if not by bullying, at any rate by diplomacy, in inducing the magnates of the Empire to recognise the baby Frederick as emperor along with his father (1196).[2]

Henry's threat, and last Sicilian expedition, 1196-7.

Had long life been granted to Henry, it is hard to say to what a height of power his able, bold, and unscrupulous policy might not have carried him.[3] But he was called to his death by trouble in his new Sicilian dominions. His immediate object, however, in entering Italy in the summer of 1196 was to arrange for the departure to the Holy Land of the Germans who had taken the cross in large numbers and with great enthusiasm, and especially to procure the infant Frederick's consecration as emperor by the Pope.

But he found it harder to circumvent Celestine than it was to prevail over the princes of the Empire. Envoys passed backwards and forwards between the two in rapid succession. The Pope could not but be distrustful of him.

[1] Ep. 207, April 27, 1195. The reminder that his soul was of more value than the *world* ought to have struck Henry with peculiar force; for at this time, in his eagerness to add kingdom to kingdom, he was striving with the aid of Richard, already his vassal, to reduce Philip of France to the same condition, and by marriage to lay hold of the Eastern Roman Empire. He was, in a word, striving to become the Lord of the world.

[2] *Cf. Chron. Reinhardsbrunnense*, an. 1196, ap. Watterich, ii. 744-5, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx.; *Ann. S. Trudperti*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. 292; *Chron. Magni Contin.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 525. Reineri *Annal.*, 1196, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 652. The *Annales Marbacenses*, an. 1196, call Henry's attempt "novum et inauditum." Though the attempt was not new, the chronicler's phrase shows how unconstitutional it was.

[3] *Cf.* Henderson, *A Hist. of Germany in the Middle Ages*, p. 308 ff.; Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 311.

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He paid no heed to Celestine's complaints about the oppressions of Philip of Hohenstaufen, duke of Tuscany,[1] and so Celestine would not listen to his request for the anointing of his son.[2] Finding that the Pope was as impervious to gold as to persuasion,[3] he left Tivoli, where he had halted for three weeks (November 1196), and pursued his way to Sicily in high dudgeon.

Practically depriving the Pope of all power outside the walls of Rome,[4] and passing severe sentences on misdemeanours in Apulia, he crossed over into Sicily, where his tyranny was soon faced by another plot (May 1197). It is said[5] that it was organised by the empress herself, and that Pope Celestine was privy to it. The conspirators had plotted to murder Henry, but their design was betrayed, and the rebellion was crushed with the most barbarous cruelty. Even those who had taken part in the former conspiracy, and were in custody in Germany, were cruelly tortured.[6] These latter barbarities of the emperor,

[1] *Excerpt. Ottob.*, n. 56, ap. Watt., ii. 745.

[2] "Missis legatis suis imperator coepit cum Apostolico de concordia agere volens quod filium suum . . . in regem (*i.e.*, emperor) ungeret." *Ann. Marbacenses*, an. 1196, p. 68.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Gesta Innocent III.*, c. 8. "Henricus . . . totum patrimonium ecclesiæ usque ad portas Urbis præter solam Campaniam, in qua tamen plus timebatur ipse quam Papa." Well might a contemporary German chronicler write that he ever oppressed the Roman Church: "tirannidem *semper* contra Romanam ecclesiam. . . . Hainricus exercuit." A continuation of Otto of Frising, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx. p. 276.

[5] *Ann. Marbac.*, an. 1197, p. 69. "Imperatrix, *sicut dicebatur*, . . . conjurationem adversus imperatorem . . . fieri effecit, consciis, ut fertur, Lonbardis, et Romanis, ipso etiam, si fas est credi, apostolico Celestino." Unfortunately, there is very much about these events which is only "said" to be true. *Cf. Chron. regia Colon.*, an. 1197, p. 159, ed. *in usum schol.*, for the report about the complicity of the empress.

[6] *Ann. Marb.*, *ib.*; *Hugonis Chron. Contin. Weingart.*, 1197, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. pp. 478 and 479; Rob. of Auxerre, *Chron.*, 1197, ap. *ib.*,

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if not his former ones, are said to have completely alienated from him the affections of his wife Constance, who took up the defence of her countrymen. The estrangement between them soon became generally talked about, and Salimbene, that gossiping Italian Matthew Paris, assures us that the wits of the time used to say that "if anyone cried 'check' to the king, the queen would not defend him."[1]

Death of the emperor, Henry VI., 1197.

Henry was now freer to devote his attention to accelerating the departure from Italy of the great host of German Crusaders, through whom alone he had been able to effect anything against his enemies in Italy.[2] But it is agreed that in this he was working not from any disinterested zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, but with a view to speedily subduing the Greek empire.[3] But his "Napoleonic" schemes of world-wide dominion were cut short by death A fever struck him down when he was only thirty-two (September 28, 1197). His daring dreams were dissipated, and the world was relieved from one of the most barbaric despots who ever sat upon a throne.[4]

xxvi. p. 257; *Ign. mon. Cisterc., De rebus in Apul. gestis*, 1197, p. 32, ed. Gaudenzi. This author notes too the unbounded ambition of Henry: "Imperator . . . credens subjugare sibi posse omnes terras," etc.

[1] Salimbene († *c.* 1288), *Cron.*, an. 1250, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii. p. 359: "Joculatores . . , dicebant; 'Si quis modo diceret regi *scaccum*, regina non defenderet eum.'" This early allusion to the game of chess is interesting.

[2] He had entered Italy with a small force, and soon found that without a great army at his back he had no authority: "Cum paucis in Apuliam iter arripuit, unde etiam Ytalia magnum passus est contemptum." *Ann. Marb.*, an. 1196.

[3] "Ses projects (against the Eastern Roman Empire) étaient manifestes; les chroniqueurs occidentaux et orientaux en parlent également. . . . Toutefois, hypocritement, Henri couvre ses ambitions du prétexte de la croisade." Bayet in vol. ii. (p. 173) of the *Histoire Générale* of Lavisse and Rambaud.

[4] With this estimate Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 638, is in full agreement. See also Balzani, *The Pope and the Hohenstaufen*, p. 108 f. and p. 121.

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Concerning the relations between Celestine and Henry just before the death of the latter, and between Celestine and Constance just after it, our fullest, but unfortunately unsupported, authority is Roger of Hoveden. Before he died, Henry became reconciled to his wife, whom his cruelties had estranged from him; committed his infant son to the guardianship of the Holy See;[1] and sent his relative Savaric, bishop of Bath, to offer to restore to Richard the ransom he had exacted from him. During the absence of Savaric, Henry breathed his last, excommunicated, according to Roger, by the Pope. Whether or not he regarded himself, or was generally regarded, as included in the excommunication with which Celestine struck those concerned in Richard's capture, is uncertain;[2] but it appears that Celestine accounted him as excommunicated, and for some time would not allow his body to be buried. Henry's deathbed dispositions.

Accordingly, the archbishop of Messina, Berard, lost no time in waiting upon the Pope to beg him to allow Henry's body to be buried; to cause the Romans to cease besieging Markwald, the chief justiciary of the late emperor in "the March of Guarnero";[3] and to allow the coronation of Frederick as king of Sicily. To this the Pope replied that the first of his requests depended upon the consent of King Richard, the second upon the consent of the Roman

[1] For this we have the clear authority of Innocent III. "Fredericus . . . tam ex *paterna* quam materna dispositione finali sit apostolice cure ac tutele relictus." Ep. 188, *Reg. de negot. R. Imp.*, March 10, 1209, ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1168.

[2] Roger of H., an. 1197, iv. 31, says Henry was excommunicated by Celestine, but there is seemingly no record that he was so, by name at any rate. The *Ann. Marbac.*, an. 1197, p. 70, speak of Henry's good dispositions at the hour of death.

[3] The death of Henry was the signal for a general rising against his German officials, and for the ill-treatment of all the Germans upon whom his Italian subjects could lay their hands.

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people, and the third on the consent of the cardinals. Ultimately, however, moved, as it would appear from Roger, by a large sum of money, Celestine agreed to the interment of Henry's body, and to the coronation of his son. It might perhaps be safer to conclude that Celestine was really induced to yield on these points because "a great part of Tuscany, which the said emperor and his predecessors had taken from the Roman pontiffs, was restored" to him, as was also "Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, and all the territories which had belonged to the king of Sicily, as being the proper patrimony of St. Peter, over which . . . he made Frederick king."[1]

Death of Celestine, 1198.

Shortly before Christmas (1197) his great burden of years began to press very heavily on Celestine, and, feeling that his end was drawing near, he recommended the cardinals to take thought for the election of his successor, at the same time endeavouring to induce them to choose John of St. Paul, cardinal-priest of St Prisca, "in whose wisdom, sanctity, and justice he placed great confidence."[2] He had, indeed, already appointed him his vicar to act for him in everything except the consecration of bishops, "which belonged to the office of the cardinal-bishop of Ostia."[3]

Seeing, however, that the cardinals were not prepared to follow his lead, so self-willed was he, that he offered to resign the Papacy if they would elect John. But they

[1] Roger, an. 1197, iv. p. 32. Among other places mentioned in Tuscany are Aquapendente, Monte Fiascone, etc. Other parts of Italy which had once belonged to the Popes also endeavoured to throw off the German yoke and to return to papal rule ("super reverentia Teutonicis deneganda et standi mandatis apostolicis"). Hence Celestine's endeavour to recover the March of Ancona "ut tota Marchia ad patrimonium Petri, ad (quod) de jure pertineat, revocetur." These extracts are from a letter of Celestine written (*c.* November 1197) to the bishop of Fermo, etc.; ap. Jaffé, 17,585.

[2] Roger, *ib.* [3] *Ib.*

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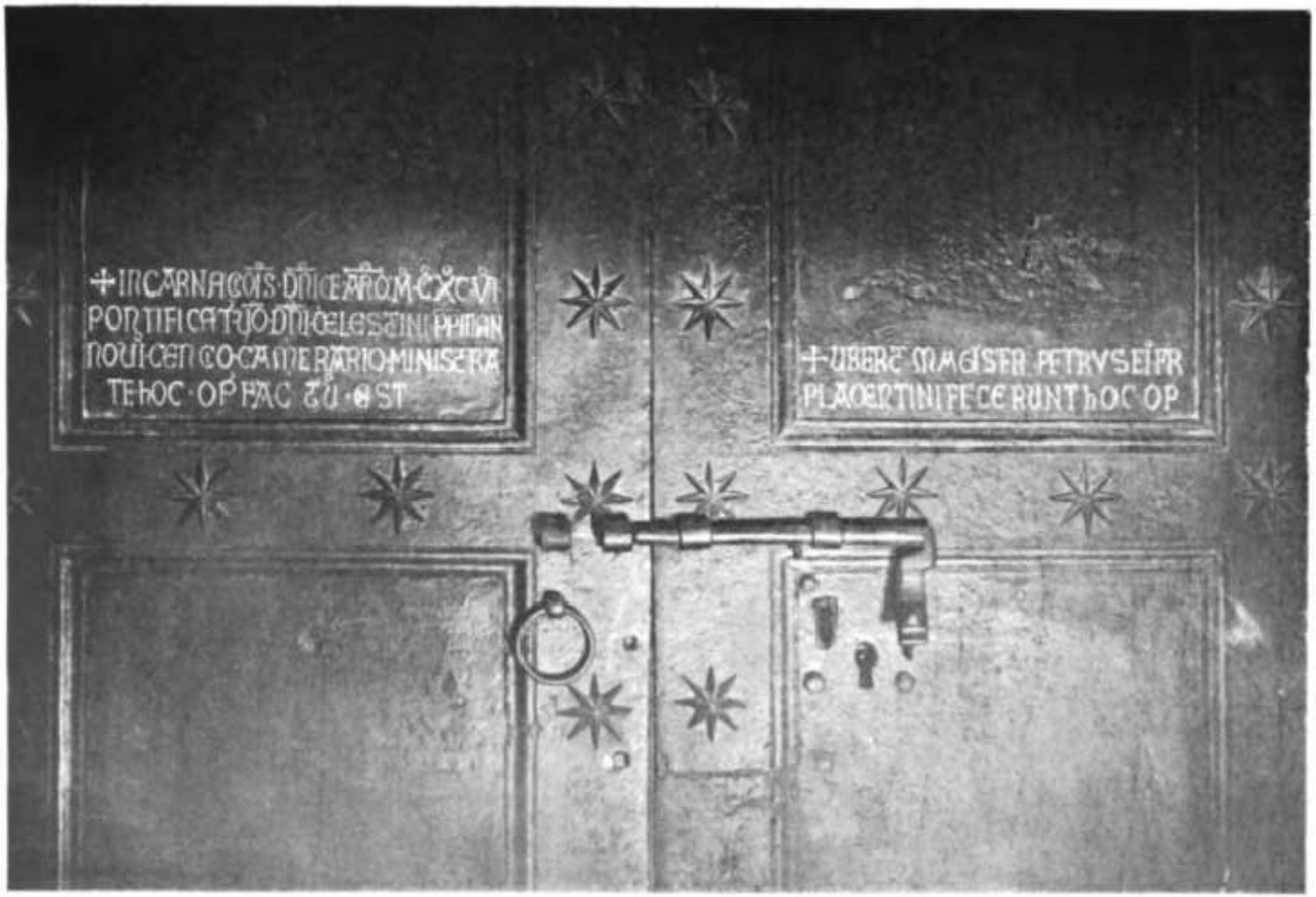

Bronze Gates of the Lateran Baptistery (S. Giovanni in Fonte) made under Pope Celestine III. (1196) by two artist brothers, Peter and Hubert.

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declared that it was quite without precedent that the Supreme Pontiff should abdicate; and then, instead of forwarding the interests of John, they each and all, according to Roger, strove to secure votes for themselves.[1] In the midst of this contention, Celestine died at the patriarchal age of ninety-two (January 8, 1198), and was honourably buried in the Lateran basilica towards the bottom of the outer northern aisle, near the chapel of our Lady "de Reposo."[2]

The portion of his epitaph which has been preserved[3] sets forth that his fame will be bright for ever, and that, descended from an illustrious Roman family, he was first known as Hyacinth (Jacintus), as though "the world's gem."

"Tercius hoc tumulo Celestinus requiescit,
Cujus fama nitens eterna laude diescit,
Gentis Romulee clara de styrpe creatus,
Jacintus primo quasi mundi gemma vocatus."

As a "member of the race of Romulus" Celestine could not but be interested in the improvement of the city of his

[1] *Ib.* Where Roger obtained this information he does not say. But his testimony seems wholly unsupported, as I have noted already.

[2] John the Deacon, *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 8, ap. *L. P.*, t. 78, p. 1387. *Cf. Epp. Inn. III.*, I. i., January 9, 1198, announcing his election. He says Celestine was buried in the Lateran "ut moris est."

[3] In a thirteenth-century codex (Salernitanus), ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia pat.*, ii. (1879), p. 361. His epitaph as written by an enemy, "quidam hemulus ejus," is far from expressing the sentiments of his real epitaph. It would send the Pope to hell!

"Tartare, pande sinum, tibi mittit avara suppinum
Roma Celestinum; tartare, pande sinum."

Richard of Poitiers, *Chron. contin. Itala*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 85. Some of the verse-makers of this age spared no one. *Cf.* the lines in the *Annal. Ceccan.* (Fossæ Novæ), sub an. 1192 (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 879), regarding the death of Henry VI.:—

"Omnia cum Papa gaudent de morte tyranni,
Mortuus est mitis Leo, raptor vel Lupus Agni,
Mortuus est vere, qui multos perdidit ære."

A little further on he is called "origo malorum," "pessimus anguis," etc.

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birth, and we find him showing his interest in it by continuing the work of Eugenius III. on that new Vatican palace[1] which, with its treasures of literature and art, has become one of the wonders of the modern world.

ENGLAND.

Readers of the foregoing pages will have already often seen Celestine III. issuing his mandates to England in connection with the great dispute between the monks of Canterbury and its archbishop; with Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York, and with William Lonchamp, bishop of Ely and sometime regent of England.[2]

The Order of Sempringham.

He had also dealings with the bishops of the country generally in connection with the Order of Sempringham, which, as we have noted, was confirmed by Eugenius III. Despite this confirmation, complaints of episcopal interference with the new Order reached Celestine. He accordingly sent a "bull to the archbishops and all bishops throughout England: 'It has come to us, that there are some among you who, by occasion of words, saving the canonical justice of the bishop of the diocese, are trying to infringe and diminish the liberties and immunities granted by the Apostolic See to our beloved children the canons and nuns of the Order of Sempringham at their own will. . . . Since it is but little to grant privileges and indulgences, unless we will protect them, we must not endure that anything be done by way of fraud, or that they be violated in any way by the presumption of any one. Wherefore by the writings of the Apostolic See we order and command you that ye be

[1] Martinus Pol. *in vit.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 451. The same source records that he transferred the see of Toscanella to Viterbo. An extant inscription shows that he added bronze doors to the Lateran. *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 699.

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 305, 376 ff., 380 f.

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content with your own right, and suffer the canons and nuns to hold their chapters and to have their liberties and immunities untouched, without let or hindrance.'"[1]

Other Popes followed the example of Celestine III. in protecting and in granting privileges to the English Order of Gilbertines. In 1220 Honorius III. granted the "Master and brothers of the Order of Sempringham" permission to elect a new Master on the death of the head of the Order, and decreed that "on his election he should take the same oath which Roger took to observe the Institutes of the Order drawn up by the Blessed Gilbert."[2] Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and many other Pontiffs granted the Order one privilege after another. But, despite the fact that it had been exempted from episcopal jurisdiction at an early date, the bishops made constant efforts to assert their authority over different houses. Hence as late as 1345 we find "Queen Philippa, Henry, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, Steward of England," and other great nobles pointing out to Clement VI. "that although the Master, prior, brethren and sisters of the Order of Sempringham, being immediately subject to the Roman Church, are exempt from *ordinary* or even from legatine authority, nevertheless certain ordinaries endeavour to enforce jurisdiction over them. The aforesaid persons, therefore, pray the Pope to confirm the said privilege and exemption, and to declare the said Order to be free from all ordinary jurisdiction for ever."[3]

With this petition Clement duly complied,[4] and the Order led the peaceful life of those who have little or no

[1] MS. Cotton, Claudius D. xi. f. 8v, 2 Celestine III., as quoted by Miss R. Graham in her valuable work *S. Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 100 f., London, 1901.

[2] *Monasticon*, vi. 2, p. 968, and MS. Cotton, Claudius D. xi. f. 8, quoted *ib.*, p. 98.

[3] *Calendar of Petitions to the Pope*, i. p. 103. [4] *Ib.*

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history,[1] until "with the reluctant consent of Convocation" (1531), and by virtue of an Act of Parliament (1534), England had in Henry VIII. a lay Pope. Then, that this lustful tyrant might have money for his mistresses, not content with a tithe of the property of the Order like the Popes of Rome for their needs, he seized all their property, and brought to an abrupt end an Order that, despite faults of human weakness, gave honour to God, and support and encouragement to man.

The election of Hubert Walter as archbishop of Canterbury.

Soon after it became known in this country that Archbishop Baldwin had died in the Holy Land bewailing the the sins of Crusaders, the monks of Canterbury, anticipating by a *ruse de guerre*[2] any interference by the bishops, elected as his successor Reginald, bishop of Bath (November 1191). Both the monks and the newly elected archbishop then straightway appealed to the Apostolic See to approve of what had been done, and envoys were at once sent for the pallium. But before he could have learnt that Celestine had confirmed his election, Reginald had died (December 26), and the see of Canterbury was again vacant.[3]

After Richard had heard of this fresh vacancy, he took the first opportunity of writing to his mother from his

[1] "Very scanty materials exist for the history of the Order of Sempringham." Graham, *l.c.*, p. 121.

[2] The Pope had already (May 28, 1191) forbidden the suffragans of Canterbury to attempt anything against the rights of the monks in electing an archbishop. Ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 336 f., R. S.

[3] Gervase of Cant., an. 1191, i. 511–2, R. S. "Ne quolibet molimine præpediatur," proclaimed the monks, "sedem apostolicam appellamus." In their letter to the Pope (ap. *Epp. Cant.*, p. 352) the monks assure the Pope that Reginald is "Ecclesiæ Romanæ devotissimum"; and the *monk of Evesham*, who saw him in Purgatory, tells us that he was "well disposed and religious, pure and devout in heart, and clean of body; and by wearing a sharp hair shirt, and other penance, he had tamed his own flesh." *Cf.* Paget's translation of *The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham*, p. 237, London, 1909. The *Revelation* was written in 1196.

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place of captivity (Spires) urging her to secure the election of his companion in the Crusade, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury (March 30, 1193).[1] Accordingly, on May 30, 1193, the monks announced to the bishops that they had already elected Hubert Walter (May 29).[2] The bishops could not but consent, and due notice of the election was immediately forwarded to the Pope.[3] At the same time envoys from the archbishop-elect, from the monks, and from the king went to Rome "to ask for the pallium and the plenitude of power."[4]

In due course the pallium, which reached England in October, was presented to Hubert on November 7, 1193, when he took the usual oath of fealty and obedience to the Pope.[5] It was not, however, till much later (March 18, 1195) that Celestine made him papal legate "for the whole kingdom of England," seeing that "the loyalty and faith of the Anglican Church towards the Holy Roman Church flourished in him."[6]

[1] Ap. *Epp. Cant.*, p. 362 ff. *Cf.* the following letters, and a letter of Richard, ap. Gervase, i. 517 f.

[2] Gervase, *ib.*, pp. 518-9. [3] *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 366.

[4] "Pro pallio petendo et plenitudine potestatis," Gervase, i. p. 519. Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Invectiones*, ap. Op. iii., pp. 23, 28, 38-9, gives Hubert W. a decidedly bad character, but in his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, *ib.*, iv. p. 77, a different H. W. is set before us. In the first place quoted he accuses him of aiming at the cardinalate, and even at the Papacy. There is no doubt that he was more of a soldier than a theologian; but he was a man of character, and a good administrator.

[5] Gervase, p. 520 f. The oath is given ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 367 f. It begins: "Ego, Hubertus Arch. Cant., ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero et obediens b. Petro sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, et d. n. P. Cœlestino, ejusque successoribus . . . Papatum Romanum et b. Petri regalia, adjutor ero ad retinendum et defendendum. . . . Vocatus ad synodum veniam. . . . Legatum apostolicæ sedis . . . adjuvabo," etc.

[6] Ep. Celest., ap. *Epp. Cantuar.*, pp. 368-9. "Sinceritas devotionis et fidei quam Anglicana semper ecclesia circa S. Romanam ecclesiam conservavit, in tua . . . virtute refloruit." *Cf.* the next letter, pp. 369-70.

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Celestine's continued support of Richard.

Passing over Celestine's further relations with Archbishop Walter,[1] we will but mention one more instance of the intercourse between him and this country. It will constitute a further proof of his sympathy with Richard for his captivity. During the latter's wars with Philip of France after his release from his German prison, he captured in arms Philip, bishop of Beauvais, whom he regarded as the cause of his ill-treatment during his detention by Henry. The bishop was at once loaded with chains, "more rudely than beseemed his office," but more leniently than he deserved, says one of our historians.[2] Philip thereupon appealed to the Pope, but Celestine received the appeal very coldly, and, reminding the bishop that he had been captured wearing a coat of mail and a helmet instead of a chasuble and a mitre, refused "to command that he should be set at liberty," but promised, at a fitting opportunity, to intercede for him as a friend. When, however, he fulfilled his promise, Richard sent him the bishop's coat of mail, with a request to look: "if this be the coat of thy son or not." "'It is the coat of no son of mine or of the Church,' replied Celestine. 'He must be ransomed at the will of the king, for he is a son of Mars and not of Christ.'"[3]

[1] *E.g.* his commission to him to reinstate the monks of Coventry. *Cf.* the *Chron.* of Jocelin of Brakelond, ed. Tomlins, p. 27; Roger of H., an. 1197, iv. 35 f. He also confirmed the metropolitical rights of Canterbury over Wales. *Cf.* Giraldus Camb., *De rebus a se gestis*, iii. c. 19, etc.

[2] Will. of New., v. 31.

[3] This is one of the gossipy papal anecdotes of Matthew of Paris, and must be appreciated as such and no more (*Chron. maj.*, an. 1196, ii. p. 422, R. S.). This anecdote, however, merely illustrates the Pope's answer. *Cf.* Will. of New., v. 31; Roger of H., iv. p. 21 ff. The letter of Bishop Philip to Celestine, and his reply, given by Roger, are regarded by some as fictitious. The answer is thought to be too flippant in tone to have come from the papal chancellary. *Cf.* a brief note on this episode ap. *Revue des Quest. hist.*, i. (1866), p. 275 ff.

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JOACHIM OF FIORE, ETC.

A mere enumeration of many acts of Celestine.

Postponing the narration of Celestine's endeavours in connection with the second marriage of Richard's bitter enemy, Philip of France, till we come to treat of the intervention of Innocent III. in regard to it, we will here briefly enumerate some other spheres of action in which he was engaged. His exertions in behalf of the Holy Land had most magnificent results as far as he was concerned. It is asserted that a greater number of efficient troops set out for Palestine during his pontificate than marched thither under the conduct of Barbarossa. If they effected but little, it was due chiefly to the death of the emperor, Henry VI.[1] As the Pope favoured the Crusade, it was natural that he should encourage the military orders which were the mainstay of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.[2]

His influence was, moreover, felt in Hungary,[3] Livonia,[4] Sweden,[5] Denmark,[6] Spain,[7] and Sardinia.[8] He stretched

[1] *Cf.* Jaffé, 16,840*a*, to the Venetians asking them to supply corn to the Christians in the Holy Land; 16,944, to England: dissensions among the leaders, and indulgence in the vices of the East, had been the cause of the failure of the third Crusade; 16,992, to the abbot of St. Albans, and 17,270, and (to Germany) 17,274.

[2] See his many letters in behalf of the Hospitallers and Templars, begging bishops to protect them, or to raise money for them, etc. Jaffé, 16,935–6; 16,742–3; 16,769; 16,841; 16,911; 17,042; 17,276; etc.

[3] *Ib.*, 16,773–4; 17,021. [4] *Ib.*, 16,991. [5] *Ib.*, 16,781 and 16,794.

[6] *Ib.*, 16,788; 16,953 and 8, 16,967 and 17,524, where he grants an indulgence "of forty days from their prescribed penance" to all who contribute to the building of the Church of Aahruus in Jutland: "de injunctis pro suis excessibus pœnitentiis 40 dies indulget."

[7] *Ib.*, 16,898, on the primacy of Toledo; 17,128 and 17,132; 17,433, bidding the archbishop of Toledo to excommunicate the king of Leon for making peace with the Saracens who were attacking the country, and, on the authority of the Apostolic See, to release his people from their allegiance to him, if he dared to introduce Saracens into his country to attack them. *Cf. ib.*, 17,625 and 17,490.

[8] *Ib.*, 16,809.

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forth his hand to protect the Jews,[1] and also a new hospice in the Alps, for which he himself appealed for funds.[2] And he strove to extend the protection of the Church to the shipwrecked and to merchants; but he allowed punishment, without benefit of appeal, to be inflicted both on the heretics of the south of France and on the free companies which devastated it.[3]

An interesting decree of his shows the survival of Greeks and the Greek rite in Calabria, to which attention has already been more than once called. Celestine had heard that Greeks were ordained by Latins and Latins by Greeks, and therefore decided that the respective rites and customs of the two churches were not to be confounded together.[4]

Celestine was also brought into touch with the Greek rite elsewhere. In 1191 Richard of the Lion's Heart, on his way to the Holy Land, took the Isle of Cyprus from the Greeks, and afterwards (1192) gave it to Guy of Lusignan († 1194), who had lost his kingdom of Jerusalem. The establishment of a Latin dynasty in Cyprus naturally led to the establishment of the Latin rite. During the course of the year 1195–6, King Amaury, Guy's successor, informed the Pope that he had been making great efforts to bring the island back to the bosom of the Roman Church, and begged him to establish a Latin hierarchy in the island.[5] Celestine listened to the request, and, in

[1] Jaffé, 17,630.

[2] *Ib.*, 17,070–1.

[3] *Ib.*, 16,753. "Hereticos insuper, et qui eos recipiunt; Aragonenses, Bramantiones et familias illas extraneas, quæ ejus dicuntur provinciam dissipare . . . possit cessante appellatione punire." Celestine appears to be writing to Umbert, archbishop of Arles.

[4] *Ib.*, 17,629. This decree shows that the churches were on good terms and in communion with each other. *Cf.* a will of January 1192, where the testator leaves two *nomismata* for the Greek and Latin priests who were to perform his funeral rites. Ap. Trinchera, *Syllabus Græcarum Membranarum*, p. 307.

[5] Ep. 246 (bis), February 20, 1196.

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virtue of the supreme power of governing the Church which had been committed by God to St. Peter and his successors,[1] he established an archbishop at Nicosia and bishops in three other sees.[2] The bishops of the Greek rite were not disturbed, but, as may easily be imagined, dissensions soon arose when in the same areas there was a Latin archbishop and a Greek archbishop, and Latin bishops and Greek bishops. At length in 1260 (July 3) Alexander IV. decided that, on the death of Germanus, the then Greek archbishop, there should not be another Greek archbishop, and, while forbidding the Latin bishops to interfere with the election of the Greek bishops, made the latter in many ways dependent on the former.[3]

Even this bare enumeration of some of the gleanings of Celestine's lost register will not be without value if it enable the imagination of the reader to do for Celestine what the existing register of Innocent III. compels his intelligence to do for that great Pope, viz., to realise the world-wide influence of even that feeble old pontiff.[4]

As Celestine III. confirmed the rule of Joachim of Fiore,[5] it would not be desirable to close his biography without a reference to that remarkable mystic, whose words and

Joachim of Fiore, *c.* 1130–1202.

[1] "Deus . . . Romane sedi primatium contulit, et indulsit tocius magisterii principatum." *Ib.*

[2] Ep. 287 (bis), December 13, 1196. *Cf.* ep. 290, January 3, 1197. In this letter Celestine declares that Cyprus had once belonged to the jurisdiction of the Roman Church: "que (Cyprus) a longis retro temporibus a magistra sedis Apost. facta fuerat aliena."

[3] Potthast, *Regesta*, ii., n. 17,910. *Cf.* Hackett, *A Hist. of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, pp. 74 ff., 84, 89 f., 114 ff.; Neale, *A Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, i. 128.

[4] Even Luchaire, of whose valuable work on Innocent III. we hope to make very much use, would seem to have been carried away by the evidence of Innocent's register, and to have unduly emphasised his pre-eminent position as wholly exceptional and novel.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 310.

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prophecies so profoundly affected the whole of the thirteenth century. Joachim was born of a good family, perhaps as early as the year 1130, at Celico, near Çosenza in Calabria. His early inclinations towards a contemplative life developed after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and for some years he led in secret the life of a hermit among the mountains of Calabria. When his identity and whereabouts came to be generally known, he became a Cistercian lay brother, and soon gained a great reputation as a preacher. In 1168 he was made a priest, and about ten years later became abbot of Corazzo. But the charge of a monastery was distasteful to him, the more so when he recognised that the brethren had, to a considerable extent, lost the spirit of their order, and had become distinctly worldly. He accordingly laid down his office (before 1192), retired into the desert of Pietralata, and devoted himself to the composition of his commentaries on the Scriptures. He did not, however, finally bury himself in solitude. He often went from monastery to monastery[1] preaching reform, and everywhere predicting trouble to come, and the approaching end of the world, *i.e.*, of the carnal world as then constituted. It was to be followed by the advent of the reign of the Holy Spirit, because, as he explained in his writings, the reign of the Father, corresponding with the sway of the *laici* or *conjugati*, had closed with Zacharias, and that of the Son, coextensive with the sway of the *clerici*, was only to last till the year 1260. Then was to begin the reign of the Holy Ghost, when the *conjugati* and the *clerici* would be supplanted, and the sway of the superior *contemplantes* or monks in

[1] "Where the rule of the founder had ceased to be observed, where abstinence and work were neglected, and where riches and indulgence had bred delicate valetudinarians whose stomachs could bear nothing stronger than milk." Joach., *Exposit. in Apocal.*, 80, 3, cited by Gebhart, *L'Italie Mystique*, p. 67, Paris, 1890.

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conjunction with the Pope would begin. For, "the Church of Peter, which is the throne of Christ, will not fail . . . but, made more glorious, will endure for ever."[1]

A crowd of disciples soon gathered round him.[2] The Popes themselves were impressed by the intense earnestness of the hermit, and, as we have seen, encouraged him to preach and write.

For those who flocked to him at Fiore, a remote and wild spot on the high plateau of the Sila mountains near the banks of the upper Neto, he drew up a rule of life, which, like everything else he took in hand, he submitted to the Pope. He went to Rome to offer his rule in person[3] to Celestine III., who solemnly confirmed his Constitutions, which, he declared, had been drawn up "with much foresight (*provide*)."[4]

But the new congregation, with its regulations stricter than those of Citeaux, did not spread beyond Calabria, and, as its founder is said to have predicted, did not last long. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was reunited to the order of Citeaux, from which it had sprung.

Joachim became even more famous after his death than he had been in life. He had been a prophet, and many of his prophecies had been verified by the event. Consequently, many assertions which knaves or fools wished to have accepted were palmed off on the unwary as prophecies of the abbot of Fiore. In his writings his zeal for ortho-

[1] *Concord. V. et N. Test.*, p. 95[b].

[2] Among the many who went to see the famous abbot was our own Richard I. *Cf.* Roger of Hov., an. 1190, ii. 75, R. S.

[3] "Cum in nostra esses, fili Abbas, præsentia constitutus, tuis nobis relationibus exposuisti quasdam Institutiones de vita Monachorum tuorum." Celestine's deed of confirmation of the order of Fiore (Ordinis Florensis). Ep. 279, August 25, 1196, or n. 71, p. 82, ap. *Regesti dei Rom. Pont. per le chiese della Calabria*, ed. Taccone-Gallucci, Rome, 1902.

[4] *Ib.*

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doxy, not always according to knowledge, had led him into putting forth heretical opinions on the Blessed Trinity; and his development of his Utopian age of liberty, which the Holy Spirit was soon to inaugurate, had caused him to minimise the position of the hierarchy in this rapidly approaching era of the "Eternal Gospel."[1]

The use which, naturally enough, was soon made of the abbot's works to push heretical opinions and bogus prophecies under cover of his saintly name caused them to be carefully scrutinised by ecclesiastical authority. But because in life he had been invariably attached to the Apostolic See, and because in death he had declared that he accepted what the Pope accepted,[2] the adverse sentence

[1] The book known as the *Eternal Gospel* (it is described by Alexander IV. as Libellus "qui in libros Joachim Introductivus dicebatur"; see his letter of May 8, 1256, ap. Denifle, *Chartularium Univer. Paris.*, i. 315) seems to have been a Franciscan compilation consisting of (1) an *Introductorium in Evangelium æternum*; (2) selections from the works of Joachim; (3) glosses on the same. The work, once very popular, appears to have perished completely.

[2] See the letter he prefixed to his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*. This work, along with his *Psalterium decem chordarum*, were printed together at Venice in 1527. His *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti* was printed in the same place in 1519. It is from these three books and "one or two brief treatises still in manuscript" from which alone it is safe to deduce Joachim's doctrine. "But so completely has the teaching in these been obscured by later forgeries, that it may safely be said that nine-tenths of the passages usually quoted as representing Joachim's opinions are spurious." *Church Quarterly Rev.*, vol. lxv. (1907), p. 27. *Cf.* p. 28. The forgeries began immediately after Joachim's death, and were for the most part the work of the "Spirituals" among the Franciscans, *i.e.*, of those "Spirituals" whose excesses led to their condemnation by Rome, and who revenged themselves by attacking the Holy See under cover of the name of Joachim. Unfortunately, even the three printed works of the holy abbot are very rare. Joachim's attachment to the see of Peter comes out strongly when he treats of the Greek schism. Then to him the Roman Church is Jerusalem, and that of Constantinople is Samaria (*Concord.*, p. 7[b]); and he insists that it is to Peter that the care of the Universal Church has been entrusted (*ib.*, p. 9). *Cf.* Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore*, pp. 26–32, Paris, 1909. The work of Fournier is perhaps the most

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which Rome decreed against some of his statements never passed to their author. In proof of his attachment to Rome, we may turn to the commencement of his *Concordia*. It opens with a letter of Pope Clement to Joachim in which it is pointed out that he had begun his commentary on the Apocalypse by order of Pope Lucius, and had continued it by order of Pope Urban. Clement bade him finish the work, and submit it to the judgment of the Holy See. The letter is dated from the Lateran, in the first year of Clement's pontificate, June 8. The Pope's letter is immediately followed by a declaration on the part of Joachim himself. After enumerating his works, he added that "the times" had prevented him from submitting any of them except the *Liber concordiæ* to the correction of the Holy See: "apostolico culmini . . . ut ab eo corrigeretur." He then proceeded to lay down that, if he should die without having had an opportunity of presenting them to the Apostolic See, they were to be submitted "to him to whom the whole teaching authority has been given"—"ei cui datum est omnimodo magisterium." He commanded all his "co-abbots and priors" to submit to the Apostolic See for correction all that he had written or might write "to the day of his death,"—"apostolico examini representent, recipientes ab eadem sede vice mea correctionem." They were, finally, to explain to the Holy See "his devotion to it," and to state that he was prepared to observe what it had decreed or should decree.[1] The document closed with

satisfactory of the many works which have appeared on Joachim (at least as far as a clear statement of Joachim's opinions are concerned), because it is founded on a close study of the abbot's works and upon a work (*Liber de vera philosophia*) of the last quarter of the twelfth century which he found in MS., and which appears to be the source whence Joachim drew many of his erroneous ideas regarding the Blessed Trinity, etc.

[1] "Quod ea semper paratus sum que ipsa statuit vel statuerit observare . . . tam in moribus quam in doctrina suscipiens correctionem, abji-

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the declaration that Joachim wrote and signed it in the year 1200.

Joachim, then, might have erred, but he had not been contumacious. Hence, though Innocent III. found it necessary to condemn one of Joachim's works at the Lateran Council (1215),[1] both he and his successor, Honorius III.,[2] forbade his order to be calumniated on that account, and the latter emphatically declared that Joachim "was a Catholic."[3] Dante, then, was only

ciens quos ipsa abjicit, suscipiens quos suscipit ipsa; credens firmiter non posse portas inferni prævalere adversus eam . . . non deficere fidem ejus usque ad consummationem seculi." In the body of this work (viz., the *Concordia*) Joachim's opinion of the power of the Holy See is the very highest. Up to the time of Pope Sylvester I., he said, the Popes, owing to the power of the pagans, could only proclaim their authority at intervals (*ad horam*), but from that time the successors of Peter have received a "regale sacerdotium in ecclesia Dei" (p. 17 *b*). The Roman Church, he declared, held the Catholic faith "inconcusse" (*ib.*); and it was not for the sheep to judge the shepherd if he fell short in any way: if the Roman pontiff "in aliquod delinquit . . . non est nostrum, qui oves sumus judicare eum." *Ib.*, p. 94.

[1] Can. 2 "Damnamus . . . libellum . . . quem abbas Joachim edidit . . . de unitate seu essentia Trinitatis." But, declares the same canon, no aspersion is cast on the monastery of Flora, because it is a worthy institution, and because Joachim himself, its founder, submitted all his writings to the judgment of the Apostolic See: "dictans epistolam cui propria manu subscripsit, in qua firmiter confitetur se illam fidem tenere, quam Romana tenet Ecclesia." *Cf.* Joachim's own words in his *Concordia V. et N. Test.* to the effect that he rejected what the Roman Church rejected and received what it received: "Non igitur, quod absit, deficiet ecclesia Petri quæ est thronus Christi, . . . cum commutata in majorem gloriam manebit stabilis in eternum." *Concord.*, p. 95 *b*, ed. Venice, 1519. Although the words in this edition are much contracted and are printed close together, they stand out to-day still clear and black on the splendid paper on which they were printed.

[2] Ep. 138, December 2, 1216, ap. *Regest. Hon.*, vol. i., ed. Pressuti.

[3] Ep. 2881, December 17, 1220, ap. *ib.* "Virum Catholicum reputamus." Joachim's seventeenth-century biographer, Jacobus Græcus, says, c. 5, that there were several letters of Honorius "in plumbeo sigillo" in the monastery of Fiore on the same subject. From all this it will be clear to the reader that certain prophecies against the Popes,

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voicing the mind of the Holy See when he placed in Paradise:

"The monk Calabrian, with prophet's soul endowed."[1]

---

and other wild writings which were circulated under his name, did not proceed from his pen. Not even when certain Franciscans tried to make capital out of his name, and issued a book (the *Eternal Gospel*) as his which had to be condemned by Alexander IV., was any adverse sentence passed on Joachim. Alexander wrote to the bishop of Paris (October 23, 1255): "Libellum quemdam, qui in *Evangelium Eternum* seu quosdam libellos abbatis Joachim *Introductorius* dicebatur . . . decrevimus abolendum." He also condemned the glosses (*quedam cedule*) to the same. Ep. ap. Denifle, n. 257, *Chartular. Univer. Paris.*, i. 297. *Cf. ib.*, nn. 258 and 277.

[1] *Par.*, xii. 140. *Cf.* E. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, chap. vi. In addition to the authorities we have already cited in connection with Joachim, and to the bibliographies regarding him furnished by Fournier, p. 2 n., and by "The Prophet of Calabria: Joachim of Floris and the 'Eternal Gospel,'" in *The Church Quarterly Review*, 1907, we would simply add *A Forerunner of St. Francis of Assisi*, by G. E. Troutbeck, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1902, p. 151 ff., and, on geographical considerations, Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, i. 438 ff. The report of the commission of cardinals who examined the *Eternal Gospel*, upon which Alexander's condemnation was based, is printed in full by Denifle in *Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte*, i., 1885, p. 99 ff. Tocco, *L'eresia vel medio evo*, p. 468, etc., and p. 561, prints a large portion of it; Florence, 1884. The writer in *The Church Quarterly* seems to suppose that the *Introductorius* itself was not condemned. The letters of Alexander quoted in the preceding note show that it was.

Leaden Bulla of Celestine III.

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APPENDIX.

(See p. 26.)

MANY of the facts of the double election of Rolando and Octavian (1159) are also set forth in a poetical dispute between Alexander and Victor. The *Altercatio* (ap. *Neues Archiv*, v. pp. 611–3, Hanover, 1880) is composed of fifty-one distichs full of alliteration and artful phraseology, in which Victor has the first and last word.

Both disputants agree that all bewail the loss of Pope Hadrian:

"*Vict.* Fratribus invidit Adrianum flebile fatum.
Alex. Curia suspirans pastorem flebat."

Alexander then points out that only two cardinals elected a *statue* for themselves, whereas all the rest adhered to him:

"Pro statua statuunt unum sibi Guido, Johannes,
Hesit, Alexander, cetera turba tibi."

Victor urges his prior reception of the mantle, but Alexander retorts that his putting it on inverted was an image of his perverse conduct; and when he next urged his prior acquisition of a papal name, and of one too of good omen, Alexander is made to retort that he received the name "Victor" because he was to be vanquished, not because he was to be victorious. The poem closes thus:

"*Vict.* Vincet eum Victor, indignior, aut nive morum
Purior, aut generis aut ope major opum.
Alex. Quid moror hic? illum, qui secula nostra veneno
Scismatis recepit, evome Roma foris.
Vict. Ut res daclarat, manto vel nomine victor
Vicit, judicium causa probata sitit."

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INDEX.

Abo, 233.
Adelais or Alice, princess, 217.
Albano, 136.
Albert the Bear, duke, 99.
Albert, archbishop of Salzburg, 127.
Albert, cardinal (Gregory VIII.), 139, 193, 206, 208, 210 f.
Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 230 n.
Albigensians, the, 66, 144 f., 257 f.
Alessandria, 94 f., 106, 109.
Alexander III., 1–238, 258 n., 260, 278, 316, 323, 374 n., 384, 388.
Alexius II., emperor, 225.
Alexius, cardinal, 278.
Allan, register of, 276.
Allucingolus, Ubaldus (Lucius III.), 240.
Ambroise, hist., 228 n.
Anagni, compact of, 14 f.; town of, 28, 49, 78, 112 f.
Ancona, 67, 82, 84, 86, 88; March of, 426 n.
Andres, William of, 338 n.
Andronicus, 225.
Ani, 364 n.
Annales Romani, 239.
Appeals to Rome, 211 n.
Aragon, cardinal of, 1.
Armenia and Rome, 366 f.
Armenians, the, 364.
Arnold of Brescia, 262.
Arnold, archbishop of Trier, 249.
Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, 29, 38 f., 45.
Augustus, mausoleum of, 344 n.
Auxerre, Rob. of, 289 n.
Avranches, 207.

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, 274 ff., 290, 298 ff., 371 f., 379.
Baldwin IV., king, 254.
Baldwin V., king, 254.
Baldwin of Ninove, hist., 315.
Ban, the, of the Empire, 261 n.
Becket, Thos., St., 64, 102 f., 152 ff., 288.
Béla III., king, 234 n., 363.
Benevento, 90, 137.
Benjamin of Tudela, 79 n., 231 n., 235.
Berard, archbishop, 425.
Berengaria, queen, 376, 416.
Bernard, cardinal-bishop of Porto, 17, 108.
Bernard de la Coudre, 189, 204 n.

Digitized by Google
Original from HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Bernard, St., the Great, Pass, 303.
Berthold, count of Kunsberg, 247.
Besançon, hospice of, 283.
Bobo, cardinal, of St. Angelo and of Porto, 386.
Bogomils, the, 262.
Bologna, 116; university of, 382.
Bonacursus of Milan, 146 n.
Bonincontro, 3.
Borbone, Stephen, 259 n., 260 n.
Bosham, Herbert, biog., 153 n.
Boso, 1, 20.
Brabançons, 142 n., 267 n.
Braga, archbishop of, 337.
Bridge-building, 310, 382.
Bulla, the leaden, 324.

CACABARIORUM, region, 385.
Cæsar of Heisterbach, 98, 264 n.
Caithness and Peter's Pence, 222.
Calabria, 437.
Calixtus III. (antipope), 97, 113, 136 f.
Camonica, Pass of, 82.
Canonisation of St. Thomas, 208 f.
Canterbury, see of, 210, 215, 217 n., 274 ff.; and Rome, 290, 306 f., 375.
Capgrave, John, 353.
Cardinal-bishops, etc., 329 ff.
Carushomo, 404 ff.
Casimir, 236.
Cathari, the, 144, 257 ff.
Celestine III., 63 n., 305, 376 ff., 380 f., 383 ff.
Cençis, Mont, 106, 407.
Cencius Camerarius (Honorius III.), 350.
Chancellary, the papal, 316–329.
Chancellor of the Roman Church, 316.
Charles Swerkerson, king, 232.
China, 228 f.
Chioggia, 121.
Choisi, 63.
Christian de Buch, archbishop of Mainz, 76, 78, 82, 84, 86, 103, 105 n., 112 ff., 136 ff., 243 ff.
Churches—
St. Blase, 344 n.
St. George, Ferrara, 117.
Lateran, the Basilica, 48, 134, 329, 331, 370, 427.
St. Lawrence outside-the-walls, 352.
Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, 385.
Sta. Maria Nuova, 48 f.
S. Maria Transpontina, 392.
Sta. Maria in Turri, 88, 393.
St. Mark, Venice, 116.
San Paolo at Pisa, 342 n.
St. Peter's, 15 f., 88 f.
St. Peter, Verona, 289.
Circe, promontory, 90.
Circumcelliones, the, 266.
Cistercian Order, 30 n., 37 n., 184, 222, 437.
Civita Castellana, 148.
Clarendon, Constitutions of, 163 ff., 216 f.
Clement III., 222, 252, 281, 305 ff., 313, 340.
Clement IV., 380 n.
Clement VI., 429.
Codex Ottoboniano, 392 n
Colonna, Odo, 95 n.
Colonnas, the, 87, 405.
"Companies, Free," 434.
Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, 72, 75 f., 113, 127, 295.
Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg, 76.
Conrad of Urslingen, 419.
Constance of Sicily, 253, 292, 359, 368, 392 ff., 401 f., 419 ff.

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Constance, peace of (1183), 247 f.
Coronation of an emperor, 392 ff.
Councils—
Avignon, 267 n.
Beauvais, 40 ff.
Chinon, 182.
Cremona-Lodi, 47 f.
Dublin, 219.
Lombers, 145 f.
London, 39 (or Westminster, 1176), 215; (1184), 275.
Montpellier (1162), 56; (1195), 267 n.
Northampton, 219 f.
Pavia, 27, 30 ff.
Tours, 64 f.
Cremona, 292.
Crown, when worn by the Popes, 134 n.
Crusaders, privileges of, 409 f.
Crusades, 226 f., 336 ff., 354 ff., 421 f.
Culin, Ban of Bosnia, 234.
Curia, the Roman, 306 n.
Cursus, the, 325 ff.
Customs of England, 164 f.; Norman, 65.
Cyprus, kingdom of, 362 n., 434 f.

DAMASUS, St., pope, 320 f.
Dandolo, Henry, patriarch of Grado, 116 ff.
Denmark, 41 n.
Deobs, 58, 63.
Disc, the porphyry, 394.
Draco Normannicus, 4.
Drontheim, 234.
Dublin and Armagh, rivalry of the sees of, 277.

EBEHARD, archbishop, 29 n., 30 n., 44 n., 45, 60.
Eboracenses Tractatus, 52 n.
Education, free, 142.
Edward the Confessor canonised, 152 f.
Egbert of Schonau, 146 n.
Eleanor, queen, 63 n., 373, 376.
Emperor, the, coronation of, 392 ff.; his dependence on papal consecration, 421.
Endura, the, 263.
England and Rome, 213, 345, 431.
England supports Alexander III., 138 ff.
England, Church of, 151 ff., 299 ff., 370 ff., 428 ff.
Era of Florence, 2.
Eric, St., king of Sweden, 233.
Esthonia, 233 f.
Etherianus, Hugo, 224.
Etienne de Rouen, hist., 4.
Eugenius III., 224, 227 n., 228, 241.
Eustathius, archbishop, 225.
Eystein, archbishop, 232.

FABIAN, Pope, 319 n.
Falcandus, Hugo, hist., 240.
Ferdinand II., king of Leon, 30.
Ferrara, 109, 296.
Finance, papal, 50 ff.
Finns, the, 232 f.
Fitz-Stephens, William, hist., 153.
Florin, the, 80 n.
Foliot, Gilbert, bishop, 152 f., 157, 190 f., 193, 197, 207, 275.
Fordun, hist., 220 n.
Forgers and forgeries, 311, 323 n., 324 n., 329.
Frangipane, Odo (or Oddo), 22, 59 n., 90, 107 n., 223; Cencius, 59 n.
Frangipani, the, 22 f., 48 f., 59, 89, 103 n., 405.
Frederick I., emperor, 24 ff., 45 ff., 69 ff., 80 ff., 223 ff., 248 ff., 253, 270, 290 ff.,

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335 f., 351, 362, 368, 412, 421 n.
Frederick II., emperor, 265, 268, 419 n., 420 ff., 425.
Fréteval, conference of, 196 ff.
Frising, Otto of, hist., 228.

GABALA, bishop of, 228.
Galdinus, St., 92 n.
Garganus, Mons, 114.
Garnier of Pont St. Maxence, hist., 5, 153 n.
Genoa, 54, 339.
Geilenhusen, diet of, 295.
Geoffrey, son of Henry II., 212.
Geoffrey of Vigeois, 241 n.
Geoffrey, archbishop of York, 372 ff.
George, king of Tenduc, 229 n.
Gerard, archbishop of York, 52 n.
Gerhoh of Reichersberg, 17, 52.
Gervase of Tilbury, 150 n.
Gesta Trevirorum, 249.
Geyza (or Geysa) II., king, 30, 43 n., 234 n.
Giraldus Cambrensis, 51 n., 379.
Glasgow, church of, 220.
Godfrey of Viterbo, hist., 334.
Gospel, the Eternal, 438 n., 441 n.
Gratian, 8.
Gratian, nephew of Eugenius III., 191.
Gravina, concordat of, 403.
Greek Church, the, 84, 224.
Greeks in S. Italy, 434.
Gregory IV., patriarch, 365.
Gregory VIII., 252, 306 n., 310, 312–340, 345.
Gregory IX., 268.
Grim, Edward, biog., 153 n.
Guido of Crema, cardinal, anti-pope, Paschal III., 17, 41, 69.
Guido, count of Biandrate, 14, 18 n.
Guido, Bernard, hist., 258 n., 284 f.
Guy of Lusignan, 254 f., 434.

HADRIAN IV., 442.
Hakington, church of, 304 ff.
Hebræus, Bar (Abulfaradj), 229 n., 231 n.
Helinand, 150 n.
Henry, abbot, then cardinal of Albano, 145 f., 313 f., 355 f.
Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, 157.
Henry, count of Champagne, 57 ff.
Henry of Diessen, count, 123, 126.
Henry, archbishop of Dublin, 310 n.
Henry II., king of England, 39, 42 ff., 61 ff., 65, 101 ff., 138, 151 ff., 248 n., 257, 273 ff., 279, 281 n., 299 n., 300, 310, 357.
Henry V., emperor, 108, 120.
Henry VI., emperor, son of emperor Frederick I., 100, 126, 251, 253, 270, 292, 356, 367 ff., 390 ff.
Henry of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, 401 n., 403, 405, 418 n.
Henry, the son of Henry II., 42 f., 157, 194 ff., 211 ff., 274.
Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, 27, 72, 99, 110 n., 111 n., 248 n., 369, 410 n., 403, 405, 409 f., 418.
Henry of Pisa, cardinal, 39, 157.
Henry, archbishop of Rheims, 57 n., 59, 81.

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Henry, bishop of Upsala, 233.
Heraclius, patriarch, 255, 257.
Heresy and corporal punishment, 144.
Heretics, punishment of, 262 ff., 421.
Hermas, 317.
Historia Ducum Veneticorum, 3 f.
Honorius III., 209, 277 n., 429, 440.
Hospitallers, the, 297 n.
Hubaldus, cardinal-bishop of Ostia (Lucius III.), 108, 123.
Hugh, bishop-elect, 278 ff.
Hugh, St., of Lincoln, 305, 309.
Hugh of Nonant, bishop of Coventry, 299, 309, 372.
Hugh of Poitiers, hist., 57 n.
Hugh de Puiset, bishop, 376 ff.
Humbert, or Hubert (Urban III.), 185 n., 186 n., 287.
Humiliati, the, 258, 260.
Hungary, 234.
Hyacinth (or Jacinth), cardinal, (Celestine III.), 44, 352 n., 384 ff.

ICONIUM, sultan of, 227.
Ignatius, St., bishop of Antioch, 317.
Imarus, cardinal, 16, 20, 24, 38.
Indulgences *de pœna et de culpa*, etc., 130, 142, 209, 234, 246 n., 354, 382, 433 n.
Innocent III., antipope, 137.
Innocent III., Pope, 308 ff., 378, 417, 440.
Innocent IV., 268.
Inquisition, the, 260 ff.
Ireland, 218 f., 231, 276 ff., 299, 379 f.
Isaac Angelus, 363, 421 n.
Itinerarium Ricardi I., 228.

JACINTHUS (*see* Hyacinthus), cardinal, 44, 352 n.
Jerusalem, 252, 254 ff., 297, 312, 336 f.
Jews, the, 79, 235 f., 398, 434; and Rome, 382.
Joachim of Flora or de Fiore, 260 n., 310, 362, 367, 435, 441.
Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, 207.
Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, 220.
Jocelin of Brakelond, 46.
Johanna, sister of Richard I., 359.
John, king of England, 299, 378, 409, 418.
John, cardinal, 226.
John, cardinal of SS. John and Paul, 77.
John the Deacon, 16 n.
John Comyn, archbishop, 276.
John of Anagni, cardinal, 36, 357, 370, 374.
John Scot, bishop-elect, 277 ff.
John de Monte Corvino, 229.
John de Courci, 218 f.
John of Salisbury, 153 n., 158, 160.
John Maledictus, prefect of Rome, 136 f.
John of Struma (antipope, Calixtus III.), 97.
John of Vico, prefect of Rome, 95 n.
John of Oxford, 74 f., 175, 183, 185.
John of St. Paul, cardinal, 426.
Jonathan of Tusculum, 86 n.
Jordan of Capua, 84.
Jovis, Mons, 294.
Judges, Palatine, 332.
Julius, Pope, 320.
Julius, cardinal, bishop of Praeneste, 54, 76.

KARAIT Turks, 229 f.
Kilij Arslan II., sultan, 227.

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LAMBETH, church at, 308 f.
Lambeth, Anon. of, biog., 153 n.
Lampoons against the Pope, 96.
Land, Holy, 297.
Lando (the antipope, Innocent III.), 137.
Lanterius, nephew of Urban III., 351.
Lariano, 351.
Lateran palace, reform of its personnel, 349 f.; construction, 352 f.
Law, study of, forbidden to Regulars, 66.
League, the Lombard, 36 f., 67, 77, 81 f., 92, 100, 102, 106 ff., 114 ff., 419.
Legate, office of, 380 n.
Legnano, battle of, 110 f.
Leo II., king of Armenia, 367.
Leon, kingdom of, 433.
Leonine city, the, 88 f., 95.
Leopold, duke of Austria, 409, 416 f.
Lepers, 143.
Letters, Papal, mode of dating, 325.
Letters, close and patent, 2, 324.
Liber Concordiæ, 439.
Liber Diurnus, 320 n.
Liber Pontificalis, 135.
Liège, see of, 405 ff., 418.
Litteræ formatæ, 318.
Lonchamp, William, bishop of Ely, 272 ff., 376 ff.
Lothaire of Hochstaden, 406 ff.
Louis VII., king of France, 29 f., 39 ff., 56 ff., 77, 101, 131 nn., 176 ff., 204, 212, 236, 237 n., 388 n.
Lucca, 68, 242.
Luccano, Ponte, 347.
Lucius III., 239 ff., 299, 311 n., 366, 368.
Luke, archbishop of Cosenza, 310 n.
Lukmanier Pass, the, 110.
Lund, see of, 232.
Lyons, Poor Men of, 258 f.

MAGNUS, hist., 383, 420 n.
Maguelonne, 55.
Man, Isle of, 218.
Manasses, bishop of Orleans, 57 ff.
Manichæans, the, 144 ff., 266.
Mantle, papal, 18 f.
Manuel, emperor, 44 n., 82, 84 f., 101, 105, 109, 223 ff.
Map, Walter, 258 n.
Marcus Aurelius, equestrian statue of, 353 f.
Margaret, widow of the young king Henry, 274.
Margaret, daughter of Louis, 42 f.
Mark, the, 51 n., 80 n., 81 n.
Markwald of Anweiler, 419, 425.
Marmorata, the, 89.
Martino da Canale, hist., 3.
Matilda, countess, lands of, 129 f., 241, 248 n., 291.
Matthew, archbishop, 277 n.
Matthew Paris, 432 n.
Medicine, study of, forbidden to Regulars, 66.
Meleqinus, coin, 348 n.
Merchants, Roman, character of, 305 n.
Michael III. of Anchialos, patriarch, 225.
Milan, 45, 59, 66 f., 82 ff.
Monachus of Florence, 311 n.
Monasteries—
  Fiore, 437.
  Hemmenrode, 98 f.
  La Cava, 137.
  Monte Cassino, 402 f.
  St. Columba, 185.
  St. Martin of Laons, 314.
Moneta, author, 259 n.
Money of the Senate and of the Pope, 347 n.

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Money of Lucca, 242.
Mons Jovis, 303.
Montebello, 107.
Monte Mario, 392.
Montpellier, 77 f.
Monumento, Leo de, 293 n., 335, 342, 347, 349, 368 n.
Morena Acerbus, 90 f.
Morra (Mora), Albert de (Gregory VIII.), 312 ff., *see under* Albert.
Myriokephalon, battle of, 223, 226 f.

NECTARIUS, 140 n.
Nerses, bishop, 366.
Nestorians, the, 228 f.
Nicetas, Choniates, hist., 226 n.
Nicholas of Amiens, hist., 246.
Nicosia, see of, 435.
Nympha (Ninfa), 22 f., 49.

OBO of Ravenna, 3.
Octavian, cardinal (Victor IV., antipope), 11 ff.
Octavian, cardinal of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, 299, 361.
Oddo, cardinal, 57.
Odo, abbot, 210.
Ong Khan, 231.
Ordines Romani, 134 n.
Orkney, Harold, earl of, 222 n.
Orsini, the, 386.
Ostia, rights of see of, 241.
Ostia and Velletri, see of, 241.
Otho, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, 185.
Otho, count palatine, 14, 26, 28, 29 n., 48.

PALACE, papal, by St. Mary Major, 353; the Lateran, 298 f.; Vatican, 428.
Palestrina, 347 n.
Pallium, the, 158.
Pandulf, Mosca, cardinal, 240, 272.
Paparone, Scottus, 405.
Paparoni, family of the, 8, 405.
Papyrus, 323.
Parchment, use of, in papal chancellary, 323.
Paschal III. (antipope), 69 ff., 78, 80, 88 f., 95.
Patarenes, the, 261 n.
Paulicians, the, 262.
Pavia, 93 f.; money of, 242.
Pedanei, the, 332.
Pence, Peter's, 173 n., 176 n., 192, 222 n.
People, the, and Henry II., 167 n.
Peregrinus, patriarch of Aquileia, 34 n., 36 n.
Peter, St., archbishop of Tarantaise, 28, 213.
Peter of Pavia, cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, 145 f., 214, 217.
Peter the Venerable, 157.
Peter of St. Agatha, 138.
Peter Mallius, 88 n.
Peter de la Celle, abbot, 40 ff., 139.
Peter of Blois, 297.
Peter of Ebulo (da Eboli), 239, 393.
Philip, archbishop of Cologne, 294 f.
Philip of Heinsberg, archbishop of Cologne, 99, 101 n.
Philip, bishop of Beauvais, 432.
Philip Augustus, king, 251, 257, 357 ff., 409, 414 ff., 418, 432 f.
Philip of Suabia, brother of Henry VI., 420, 432.
Philip, physician of Alexander III., 230.
Pierleone, Hugo, cardinal of St. Angelo, 214 ff.
Pierleoni, the, 89, 103 n., 385, 405.

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Pietro de Natali, poet, 3 n.
Pine, the, of the Vatican, 343 n.
Pinea, region of, in Rome, 343.
Pipino, Francesco, hist., 287 n.
Pisa, 54 n., 89, 101 n., 241, 338 f., 342, 345.
Pius X., Pope, 316.
Polo, Marco, 229 n.
Polycarp, St., 317.
Polyptice, 322.
Poor, the, and the Popes, 236 f.
Popes, appeals to, 294; elections of, 140; lampoons against, 96 n.; position of, in the Church, 140, 181, 187, 200, 235, 255, 290, 439; in Europe, 213 n., 237; and the poor, 236; and the Romans, 247, 346 ff.
Porta Collina (Castelli, or of St. Peter), 392.
Portugal, 234.
Power, papal, usurped by Henry II., 163 ff., 180 n.
Prefect of Rome, 133.
Prémontré, Order of, 314.
Prester John, 228.
Primicerius of the notaries, 320, 332.
Promissio imperatoris, the, 393 n.
Protoscriniarius, the, 333.
Provisions, papal, 52 ff.
Ptolemy of Lucca, hist., 240 n.
Publicani (Albigensians), 66, 146 n.

Rainone, count of Tusculum, 86, 95 n., 103.
Ralph de Diceto, hist., 383.
Ranulf de Broc, 183, 190 n.
Raschid, hist., 229 n.
Raymond III., count of Tripoli, 254.
Raymond V., count of Toulouse, 144.
Rectors of the Lombard League, 116 ff.
Reginald, bishop, 430.
Reginald, subprior, 301 f.
Register of Alexander III., 1.
Registers, papal, 322.
Reicherspergenses Annales, 383.
Reinald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, 61 ff., 65, 69 ff., 81, 84 ff., 91, 183.
Relatio de Pace Veneta, 3.
Reordinations, 248 n.
Riccobaldi, hist., 353 n.
Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 211, 215 f., 220, 274, 334.
Richard I., Cœur de Lion, 212, 217, 308, 356, 371 ff., 378 ff., 409 ff., 432, 437 n.
Richard de Luci, 183.
Richard of Devizes, hist., 359 n., 377 n.
Richard of Poitiers, or of Cluny, hist., 8, 258 n.
Richard of San Germano, hist., 359 n.
Rite, the Greek, 434.
Robert of Cricklade, biog., 156 n.
Rocca di Papa, 247.
Roderick, king, 218.
Roger, archbishop of York, 180, 195 ff., 199 ff., 202, 207 f., 215 f., 220 f., 278.
Roger of Hoveden, hist., 4 f.
Roger of Pontigny, hist., 153 n.
Rolando Bandinelli (Alexander III.), 8 ff.
Rom-Cla (Rum-Kalah), 365.
Rome, appeals to, 141, 211 n.; art in, 352 f.; Church of, its rights, 28, 140, 181, 204 n., 235 n., 307, 317, 438 n.; Church of, its constitution, 329 ff., 404 ff.; people of, 51 n., 104, 136, 247; peace with the Pope, 346 ff.;

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pilgrimages to, 179, 181; prefect of, 133; region of, 385 f.; relations of, to princes, 42, 360; walls of, 21 n.
Romuald of Salerno, hist., 3, 114.
Roncaglia, 119, 120.
Rose, the golden, 64 f., 117, 279.
Roselli, Nicholas, hist., 1.
Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, 73 n., 193.
Roupen, king of Lesser Armenia, 365.
Rudolf, elect of Trier, 249.

SACELLARIUS, the, 332.
Saladin, 254 ff., 257, 297, 354 n.; tithe of, 357.
Salerno, 401, 419.
Salimbene, 424.
Salvore, battle of, 3.
Sampson, abbot, 46 f.
Saracens not to be supplied with arms, 227 n.
Sardinia, 282.
Sancho, king of Portugal, 388.
Savaric, bishop, 425.
Savoy, house of, 94 n.
Schola Anglorum, 76.
Schola Cantorum, 331.
Scolari, Paul (Clement III.), 313, 341 ff.
Scotland, 46 n
Scotland, Church of, 219 ff., 277 ff., 370 f., 379 f.
Segni, 28, 105.
Seif ed Dîn (Safadin), 255 f.
Sempringham, Order of, 428 ff.
Senate, the, 59, 77.
Sens, 66, 176.
Sibyl, queen, 254 f., 364, 418 ff.
Sicily, end of Norman kingdom of, 419; kingdom of, 423 ff.
Siena, 128 n.
Simon of Mont Dieu, 189.
Si-Ngan-Fou, inscription of, 228.
Slavery condemned by the Pope, 236.
Soldiers, mercenary, condemned, 141.
Soter, Pope, 318.
Souvigny, 58.
Spain, religious orders of, 227 n.; Church of, 387 f.
Spalato, 310, 315.
Spinello, Aretino, artist, 128 n.
Spirituals, the, 438 n.
Splugen Pass, the, 110.
Stations, 134.
St. Andrews, bishopric of, 277 ff.
St. Jean de Losne, conference of, 58 ff.
Stephen, metropolitan of Upsala, 232 f.
Stephen Theobaldus, 96.
Sufredus (Godfrey), cardinal, 254 n.
Susa, 93.
Sussubium, 129.

TAGENO, dean, 364 n.
Talent, the, 51 n.
Tancred, king of Sicily, 359 f., 368, 390 f., 400 ff., 418 ff.
Templars, the, 297 n.
Terebinth, the, of Nero, 392.
Theobald, archbishop, 29, 33 ff., 154, 195 n.
Theobald, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, 275, 342 f.
Theobald, count of Blois, 199 n., 204.
Theodwine, cardinal of St. Vitalis, 102 n., 206 f., 208, 210 f., 241.
Thorlac, bishop of Scalholt, 231 f.
Tithe, the Saladin, 357.
Tivoli, 347, 423.
Togroul, 231.
Toledo, primacy of, 387, 433 n.

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Tolosanus, hist., 109 n.
Trier, see of, 249.
Turin, catalogue of, 344 n.
Turris Cartularia, 89.
Tusculum, 84 ff., 399 ff., 103 ff., 243 ff., 346 ff., 370, 390, 399 ff.

Ubaldus, archbishop of Pisa, 345.
Uncial letters, 323.
University regulations, 383.
Upsala, see of, 232.
Urban III., 284–311, 212 f., 251, 254 n., 273 n., 280, 351.
Ursus, 386.
Usury, condemned by Popes, 236.

Vacarius, 208 n.
Vartan, hist., 365.
Venice, 45; peace of, 114 ff.
Vercelli, treaty of, 419.
Verona, 248, 261 n., 296.
Vezelay, 182 f.
Victor IV., antipope, 19 ff., 56 ff., 68 ff., 339, 442.
Vincent of Prague, hist., 91.
Vinsauf, Geoffrey of, 228.
Viterbo, 78, 95, 136 f., 228.
Vivian, cardinal, 218 ff.
Vivian, papal envoy, 191 f.
Volmar (Volcmar), elect of Trier, 249 ff., 293, 351 n.

Waldenses, the, 145 n., 258.
Waldo, Peter, 258 n., 260.
Walter, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, 301 n., 305 n., 308 ff., 372 ff., 410, 430 ff.
Welf, duke of Bavaria, 27.
Welf-Este VI., marquis, 111 n.
Wichmann (or Wicmann), archbishop, 251 n., 292 n., 295 n.
William I., the Bad, king of Sicily, 67, 78, 80.
William II., the Good, king of Sicily, 80, 89 f., 109, 114 ff., 253 f., 359, 363, 368.
William III., king of Sicily, 418 ff.
William of Pavia, cardinal of St. Peter *ad vincula*, 31 n., 39, 41, 175, 185.
William, archbishop of Sens, 203.
William, archbishop of Tyre, 140 n.
William of Andres, hist., 391 n.
William of Canterbury, biog., 153 n.
William the Lion, 219, 277 ff.
William Lonchamp, bishop of Ely, 361.
Withern (Candida Casa or Galloway), 220.
Witsand, 199, 201 n.
Worms, concordat of, 250.
Worms, diet of, 101.

York, see of, 215 f., 217 n., 219 n.; treaty of, 214 n., 217.

Zara, 115.
Ziani, Sebastian, Doge, 116 ff.

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